THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FIFTY-THREE FIRST QUARTER, 1959

Nicolás de la Barreda and His Works on the Chinantec Indians of Mexico

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INTRODUCTION

IT is a familiar circumstance to most students that for many parts of the world, and for the Americas in particular, a great deal of our knowledge about minor and obscure native groups—their languages and customs—derives from volumes prepared by Catholic churchmen for the indoctrination of the Indians. In the case here reviewed we have the unusual and important coincidence of a bibliographical rarity and a scientific treasure from this source.

In 1730 a parish priest named Nicolás de la Barreda wrote a pamphlet, *Respuesta Consultoria,* about the Chinantec Indians of Oaxaca, Mexico, and supplemented it in the same year by a more extensive work entitled *Doctrina Christiana en lengua chinanteca, añadida la explicación de los principales mysterios de la Fee. Modo de baptizar en caso de necesidad, y de ayudar a bien morir, y methodo de administración de Sacramentos.*[1] This is the only book ever printed in the difficult Chinantec dialect. As late as 1938 it was reported that only a single copy of it had survived. The present study, after describing the work and its context, notes the existence of several other copies and provides a census of them.

[1] Christian Doctrine in the Chinantec Language, to which is added an explanation of the principal Mysteries of the Faith, mode of emergency baptism and aiding proper death, and method of administering the Sacraments.

The Barreda *Doctrina* also has scientific importance. From the book it has been possible to reconstruct a considerable body of historical linguistics of the area, as well as to derive important findings about the Indian society to which Barreda addressed himself.[2] Here, however, we shall concentrate attention on the bibliographical rather than the ethnological aspects, after a brief glance at some background material.

Background

The Chinantec Indians, for whom Barreda wrote the *Doctrina*, persist as a small, isolated native group inhabiting the highlands and coastal plain of northeastern Oaxaca, a southern state of Mexico. Relatively little is known of their past; it is only within recent times that they have been the subject of systematic anthropological investigation. At least four major sub-dialects and cultural areas are observable; the highland Chinantec, whose principal village is still San Pedro Yolox, where Barreda penned his works, occupy a large portion of the northern Sierra de Juárez, a high range in the Southern Sierra Madre of Mexico, flanking the rich valley of Oaxaca, separating it from the flat Gulf coastal plain below Veracruz. The mountain Chinantec are still difficult of access and retain a high degree of monolingualism in their tonalized native dialect.[3]

Indirectly, the Bishop of Oaxaca was responsible for the production of the *Respuesta* and the *Doctrina*. The *Respuesta* was written by Barreda as a defense, in response to an episcopal letter concerning the lack of zeal on the part of ministers to the Indians, and the *Doctrina* was the result of direct and repeated orders from the cathedral in Oaxaca.

[2] This essay is a condensation and excerpt from a longer study in Spanish that serves as introductory material to a facsimile edition of the Barreda *Doctrina*, and his *Respuesta* now in press at the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) of Mexico, to appear as Vol. II of its *Papeles de la Chinantla*. Appendices to the Spanish study contain vocabularies, and the text discusses in some detail the historical ethnology imbedded in the Barreda works. Publication is scheduled for 1959.

[3] Howard F. Cline, "The Chinantla of northeastern Oaxaca, Mexico: bio-bibliographical notes on modern investigations," *apud Estudios Antropológicos publicados en homenaje al doctor Manuel Gamio* (Mexico, 1956), pp. 635-656, summarizes the bibliography of the area; Cline, "The *terragueros* of Guelatao, Oaxaca, Mexico: notes on the Sierra de Juárez and its XVIIth century Indian problems," *Acta Americana*, IV, 161-184 (July 1946), discusses the area and provides a sketch map; Cline, "Civil Congregation of the western Chinantec, New Spain, 1599-1603," *The Americas*, XII, 115-137 (Oct. 1955), provides historical background data. Yolox has several variant spellings.

The Bishop thus linked with the Barreda works was a Dr. Fray Angel Maldonado, fifteenth in the series of prelates responsible for the diocese. Born in Ocaña (Spain) he was a member of the Order of San Bernardo, and served as private secretary to Philip V. In 1698 he was named Bishop of Honduras; from there he was transferred to Oaxaca, where he took possession of his see on 2 July 1702. He served until his death on 17 April 1728.[4]

It was said that when he entered on his post the diocese was decayed and that the cathedral itself was in ruins. During his long tenure he undertook a number of reforms, fiscal and administrative. One of his efforts was to increase the number of secular curacies, adding twenty-seven to the previous number, displacing a number of regulars. Maldonado was much interested in education, and was said to be a speaker and writer of merit.

He seems to have been especially interested in Indian affairs. On one occasion he penned a long, erudite dissertation on the evils of Indian drunkenness in a successful effort to have the Royal Audiencia prohibit the raising of plants which would produce pulque and its flavorings. Possibly it was to this interest that Barreda was playing when he wrote his *Respuesta Consultoria*, dated 10 March and 16 April 1728, a few days before the death of Bishop Maldonado.

The postscript letter, dated 6 April 1728, indicates that Barreda wrote the 10 March Carta with the intention of having the Bishop allow its publication. Apparently the Bishop died before he could approve the tract. In a sense Barreda had taken advantage of the Bishop's known views about drunkenness among Indians to exonerate himself and his fellow *curas* from the charge of lacking ardor by shifting the blame to the vice of drunkenness among Indians, which kept priests from complying with episcopal orders.

In attesting his own fervor and virtue in the *Respuesta*, Barreda also indirectly indicates the major rôle which the Bishop played in bringing the *Doctrina* into being. Preliminary notes in that publication confirm and extend those assertions.

Barreda noted in the *Respuesta* that Maldonado had directly ordered him to learn Chinantec, specifically that he might teach the

[4] Eutimio Pérez, *Recuerdos históricos del Episcopado Oaxaqueño . . .* (Oaxaca, 1888), pp. 38-41.

Chinantecs the necessary prayers and give them an explanation of the Mysteries of the Faith, so that they might receive Sacraments; he was also ordered to prepare a manual for the administration of the Sacraments to aid the *curas* who would succeed him. Barreda reported that he had subsequently written the Bishop, asking to be relieved of these tasks because of the difficulties of the language, but instead, Bishop Maldonado had told him to remain and to stop making excuses. Thereupon Barreda set himself to do as he was told.

He declared in the Carta of 10 March 1728 that "at this moment I have written the said manual, much of the grammar (*Arte*), and with great difficulty, all the prayers and the explanation of the Mysteries, which can be printed at your Grace's pleasure." Possibly Barreda overstated his case slightly, as in the *Doctrina* itself his letter of transmittal (15 Sept. 1728) refers to the manuscript as an incomplete and "delayed draft."

This same letter of transmittal and the Note to the Reader of the *Doctrina* indicates the strong pressure which the Bishop and his temporary successor placed on Barreda to produce a publishable piece of work. Barreda tells us that originally Maldonado had directed him to "translate into the Chinantec language the Doctrina Christiana of Padre Gerónimo de Ripalda and to explain the principal Mysteries of our Holy Faith, and a method of administering the Sacraments." In the Prologue to the Reader, Barreda again paraphrased the original orders, to provide "the prayers of the Christian Doctrine, a dialogue concerning the principal Mysteries of our Holy Faith, and a method of administering the Sacraments," adding that he had added to these "some Christian documents which seemed necessary [for work] among Indians." Barreda again noted his attempt to evade Maldonado's command, and the insistence of the Bishop that he carry it out. Barreda makes it clear that he had no alternative and thus had decided to "render my obedience."

However, his letter of transmittal indicates a second round of orders, following the death of Maldonado. Presumably the Vacant See (to which the *Doctrina* is dedicated) was being administered by Geronymo Morales Sigala until 18 June 1730, when Dr. Fray Francisco Santiago Calderón, sixteenth Bishop, took possession of the mitre in Oaxaca. Barreda, directing the manuscript to Sigala, records the

command of the Vacant See for Barreda to "send said work for approval and printing," even though it might still be incomplete. Barreda tells the reader that it is only because he was unable to resist superior orders that the work appeared at all. Again he recites all his difficulties with the Chinantec language. One gains the strong impression that Barreda was a reluctant subordinate. The whole tone of his remarks conveys the feeling of a man doing a distasteful duty under protest, and only because repeatedly commanded to do so.

Apart from the information contained in his own two works, there is but little other information about Nicolás de la Barreda. In the *Respuesta,* Barreda stated that over a period of twenty-five years he had ministered to four distinct Indian nations in Mexico, and therefore was an experienced hand. The same publication adds the information that these groups were Mixtecas, Cuicatecas, Mexicanas, and Chinantecas. In the *Doctrina* Barreda mentioned that he had been the Minister in Yolox for some twenty years (*c.* 1708-1728). In the same work, he claimed that two priests who had preceded him in that parish confided to him that they had requested transfers to other linguistic areas because of their inability to master the Chinantec language and thus were prevented from carrying on effective work with the Indians there.

Both in the *Respuesta* and in the *Doctrina* Nicolás de la Barreda stressed the difficulties of the Chinantec language: the opening pages of the *Respuesta* emphasized this theme. Barreda noted that when he entered the Yolox *curato* there was not a person who could confess himself in Spanish, and that nobody spoke or understood enough Spanish to cover the minimum necessities of indoctrination.

According to Barreda, Divine assistance and his own constant application over a long period permitted him to reach a point where he could understand and even write the Chinantec language of Yolox. He noted that in addition to gathering the materials which the Bishop had ordered him to prepare for publication, he was personally and daily instructing Yolox children in school, and giving classes to adult Indians for feast days.

In the preliminary pages of the *Doctrina,* Barreda repeated some of this material concerning the difficulties of the tongue. He stated that he had found nothing written in Chinantec, either in manuscript or

printed form, so impossible was it to handle. He underlined his point by recalling that an earlier *cura*, faced with the same situation, had obtained permission from Church authorities and the Royal Audiencia to extinguish the Chinantec language and to substitute for it the *lingua franca*-Mexican tongue (Nahuatl)—but that such an abortive attempt had only compounded the confusion.

In apologizing to the reader for his lack of style and polish, Barreda mentioned that he had limited himself "to the most rough, common, and open style, suitable to the limited intelligence of the Indians." Apparently adducing repeated consultations partly to explain his long delay in writing the volume, he claimed that it did not contain "a single usage which first had not had general approval of the same Indians, reviewing it with them several times, without placing confidence solely in my own opinion, thus obtaining major clarity suited to the mentality of even the rudest."

The Barreda Works and Their Bibliographical History

Nicolás de la Barreda was apparently not a prolific author. He is known to have written only the two items here discussed: *Respuesta*, a pamphlet, and the *Doctrina*. Neither is a major work, but each has scientific and bibliographical interest, dealing with an obscure language of an Indian group about whom we even now know only a little.

Detailed scrutiny of the *Doctrina* reveals a number of important things. Not the least among them is that he himself wrote most of the volume; it is far from a direct translation of Gerónimo de Ripalda into a native idiom. It appears also that the *Arte* which Barreda mentioned and which has been considered a "lost" work probably is included in this publication. These and other conclusions emerge from an analysis of the contents, not here undertaken.[5]

The extended full title of the work reflects its major divisions. To this statement of contents can be added what Barreda tells us he was ordered to do and did.

The total substance of the treatise, he stated in his Prologue to the Reader, was to put into Chinantec "Las Oraciones de la Doctrina

[5] Extended examination of both the *Doctrina* and the *Respuesta* appears in the lengthier Spanish version of this study, cited above.

Christiana, un diálogo de los principales Mysterios de Nuestra Santa Fee, y un methodo de administración de Sacramentos," to which he added "algunos Christianos documentos que entre Indios me parecieron necessarios." In his transmittal letter he stated that he had translated the *Doctrina Christiana* of P. Geronymo de Ripalda.

The first thing to be noted is that Barreda's *Doctrina Christiana* was a compendium rather than a unitary work or solely a translation (or even adaptation) of any other single work. Its major parts included:

a. *Doctrina Christiana*, from Ripalda;
b. Principal Mysteries of the Faith;
c. Manual for administering the Sacraments;
d. Necessary documents for use among Indians, especially for emergency baptisms and deaths;
e. *Arte*, or the native grammar needed to understand the local idioms for these matters.

Barreda's order for presentation does not conform completely to this scheme. An abbreviated and generalized table of contents would show that he arranged these elements as follows:

	Pages	*No. of pages*
1. *Doctrina Christiana*	fols. 1-9	9
2. Principal Mysteries	9-22	13
3. Necessary Documents for Emergencies "Como se ha de baptizar una criatura quando se quiere morir;" "Como se ayuda a los enfermos quando llega la hora de su muerte."	22-27	6
4. Administration of the Sacraments	27-95	68
5. *Arte:* separate linguistic notes	39-46	?

In very general terms, then, the *Doctrina* occupies less than 10% of the total text. The Principal Mysteries share about an equal amount, and the emergency documents half as much. The Manual of Sacraments is in fact the bulk of the book; this section forms more than two-thirds of the contents. Direct linguistic information by Barreda is negligible in relation to total content.

In itself, and compared with the *Doctrina*, Barreda's *Respuesta Consultoria* is indeed a very minor publication. Its research significance lies in the fact that it provides some information about Barreda and his times and is the only other known work which he wrote while in

the Chinantec village of San Pedro Yolox. It is also a bibliographical rarity: because of its very insignificance in the general literature of eighteenth-century Mexico, the small pamphlet has nearly disappeared without a trace. Fortunately, however, a unique copy is currently housed in the splendid Library of the Instituto Tecnológico at Monterrey, Mexico. Through the courtesy and coöperation of officials at the Instituto, a photographic copy of the *Respuesta* was made under the direction of Sr. D. Eugenio del Hoyo, expressly for this study.

The *Respuesta Consultoria* is a relatively brief, thirty-page pamphlet. Half of it is preliminary pages, chiefly authorizations to publish, followed by fifteen numbered pages of text, comprising the *Respuesta* proper. The *Respuesta* is, in fact, two Letters (or *Cartas*) written by Nicolás de la Barreda. The longer and more important is dated at San Pedro Yolos on 10 March 1728, included on fols. 1-12; fols. 13-15 represent a second *Carta,* a postscriptum, also signed by Nicolás de la Barreda in Yolos on 6 April 1728.

The first *Carta* is a response to directives by the Bishop to Ministers of Indians in the Sierra de Juárez to increase their zeal and offer Sacraments to the Indians. Barreda's response is a justification of the ardor already being shown by such *curas* and proofs by citations and experience that so long as Indians remain drunken, superstitious, and brutish, *curas* properly exercise good judgment in withholding Sacraments from them.

The second *Carta* of 6 April 1728 is a defense of these views. Barreda argued that they in fact should not be subject to censure because they were not those of Barreda personally, but rather represented an authorized ecclesiastical position. Barreda claimed that he was merely compiling venerated opinions of "los Santos Padres, Concilios, y Doctores" and that their statements could not be attributed to him. He also made clear that he was exempting from his arguments the Sacraments connected with final Church rites, an emergency situation in which *curas* were to give Sacraments to dying Indians.

Because the *Respuesta* mentions materials which later appeared as part of the *Doctrina,* it seems safe to assume that it was written earlier. But comparison of the chronology of the two manuscripts reveals

that probably the *Doctrina* saw print before the *Respuesta* did. Further, comparisons also indicate that the two Barreda works moved upward toward publication by distinct administrative channels: the *Respuesta* seems to have followed a line of Jesuit hands, whereas that Order had little or nothing to do with the *Doctrina*.

The following table of comparative chronology shows that the two manuscripts were approved for publication by local authorities in Oaxaca about the same time in late April 1729. In Mexico City, the *Doctrina* received the necessary approval from the Viceroy and the Vicar-General in November. But it was not until the following March that such similar permissions were granted for printing the *Respuesta*. Both publications bear a 1730 imprint date, by the same printing establishment.

It is not clear what these differences signify. They are placed here chiefly to complete the publishing chronology, now a fairly complete record.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY: BARREDA "RESPUESTA" *vs.* "DOCTRINA"

17—?

Bishop Angel Maldonado orders Nicolás Barreda to translate Ripalda and other materials

RESPUESTA	*1728*	*DOCTRINA*
March 10 and April 6 — *Yolox:* Barreda replies concerning Eucharist, etc. Says has ready for press materials in Chinantec		
April 17 — Death of Bishop Maldonado; *Oaxaca:* Vicar-General again orders Barreda to transmit materials commanded by Maldonado		
		Completion of Chinantec materials?
Circulation of "Respuesta" in MS.?		
Sept. 15		Barreda transmits MS. draft for publication to Vicar-General, Oaxaca

1729

Feb. 23		*Yae:* Cura recommends publication
March 10		*Tepetotula:* Cura concurs
April 14	*Chicomesuchil:* Curas of here and Ixtepexi dedicate Barreda's "Respuesta" (Apr. 6, 1728) to other curas	
April 20		*Oaxaca:* Vicar-General approves for publication
April 22	*Oaxaca:* Jesuit theologian approves for publication. *Oaxaca:* Vicar-General approves.	
Nov. 11		*Mexico:* Viceroy licenses publication
Nov. 13		*Mexico:* Canon of Cathedral approves, licenses
Nov. 19		*Mexico:* Fiscal officer approves *Mexico:* Vicar-General for Archbishopric approves

1730

March 2	March. Opinion by Jesuit Zamudio
March 9	*Mexico:* Viceroy licenses publication
March 12	March. Opinion by Order of Merced friar *Mexico:* Vicar-General for Archbishopric approves

Publication by Herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupericio

Extant Copies of the Barreda "Doctrina"

Repeated assertions of the scarcity of the Barreda *Doctrina* indicate its relative rarity.[6] On the other hand there do exist more examples

[6] Bibliographers, historians, and linguists who have noted the book since 1867 are listed below. No intensive search for earlier writings has been made.

Charles Leclerc. *Bibliotheca Americana.* Paris, 1867, p. 30, no. 117.

Joseph Sabin *et al. Dictionary of books relating to America from its discovery to the present time.* 29 v. New York, 1868-1938, I, no. 3594.

than heretofore have been realized. Bevan (1938) noted that only one copy existed—that in the John Carter Brown Library. Data below indicate that seven copies can now be located with relative certainty. Further, four others have appeared in bibliographical literature within the past century. Herewith is a brief census of these 11 copies, with notes on each.

For listing purposes these volumes are subdivided: A—Those located with relative certainty, and B—Those which are known only through citations that give inadequate location data. The names given to the copies noted are here used for the first time, to facilitate ready identification. These data are as of March 1958.

A. Location Relatively Certain

1. Berendt-John Carter Brown. Recorded in National Union Catalogue under "La Barreda." Apparently collected in Mexico by Dr. Carl Hermann Berendt,

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James Constantine Pilling. *Proof-sheets of a Bibliography of the languages of the North American Indians.* Washington: G.P.O., 1885, p. 59, no. 277.

Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano, Conde de Viñaza. *Bibliografía española de lenguas indígenas de América.* Madrid, 1892, p. 141, no. 292.

Daniel G. Brinton, "Observations on the Chinantec language of Mexico," American Philosophical Society *Proceedings* xxx, 3-11 (9 Feb. 1892).

Joaquín García Icazbalceta. *Apuntes para un catálogo de escritores en lenguas indígenas de América.* Mexico, 1866. (Second edition: *Obras completas* viii, 5-181. Mexico, 1898); *see esp.* viii, no. 6, pp. 148-149.

Nicolás León. *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo* xviii. 5 v. Mexico, 1902-1908, v. no. 184; *and* Apéndice iiA, letra B, pp. 55-119. Reprints text of *Doctrina.*

José Toribio Medina. *La imprenta en México (1539-1821).* 8 v. Santiago de Chile, 1907-1912, iv, 283, no. 3105b.

Antonio Palau y Dulcet. *Manual del librero Hispano-Americano.* 7 v. Barcelona, 1923-1927 (Second edition: 9 v. to present. Barcelona, 1947–), ii (1947), 85, no. 24618.

Robert Streit. *Bibliotheca Missionum. Amerikanische Missions-literatur.* 2 v. Aachen, 1924-1927, iii, 80-81, no. 293b.

Bernard Bevan. *The Chinantec. Report on the central and southwestern Chinantec region. I: The Chinantec and their habitat.* Instituto Panamericano de Geografía é Historia *Publicaciones* 24, 113-119. Mexico, 1938.

Salvador Ugarte. *Catálogo de obras escritas en lenguas indígenas de México o que tratan de ellas, de la biblioteca particular de Salvador Ugarte.* Mexico, 1949 (Second edition, rev.: Mexico, 1954), pp. 39-41, no. 42.

The *Respuesta* was noted by:

José Mariano Beristáin y Souza. *Biblioteca Hispano-Americano septentrional.* 3 v. Mexico, 1816-1821 (Second edition: 4 v. Amecameca (Mexico, Santiago, Chile), 1882-1897), i (1882), 135.

José Antonio Gay. *Historia de Oaxaca.* 2 v. Mexico, 1881 (Second edition: 2 v. Oaxaca, 1933), ii, 225.

It was also noted by Medina, Palau, Streit, and Bevan (see above).

c. 1870. After negotiations beginning 17 November 1871 between Berendt and John Russell Bartlett for John Carter Brown, the latter purchased this copy for $150; in correspondence Berendt noted that the only other known copy was listed by Leclerc for the Maisonneuve sale (1867) in Paris (see below, B,7). Available to public. *Location:* John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I., U. S. A.[7]

2. Starr-nypl. Recorded in National Union Catalog. New York Public Library printed card, dated 13 January 1938; notes that volume has bookplate of Frederick Starr; records that t.-p. is mutilated, title being supplied by cataloguer from Medina, *Imprenta en México* #3105; incorrectly states "Tzotzil and Spanish in parallel columns"; notes faulty pagination, pp. 93-95 numbered 83-85; cites Sabin 3594. Available to public; local call number, *KE 1730. Seen by HFC. *Location:* New York Public Library, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.[8]

3. Cline-Harvard. Not recorded in National Union Catalog. Collected in San Pedro Yolox, Oaxaca, Mexico, by Howard F. Cline, 1942-1943; Sold to Harvard College Library, 1943; perfect copy. Available to public. Seen by HFC. *Location:* Houghton Library, Harvard University Libraries, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass., U. S. A.

4. Cline-Personal. Not recorded in National Union Catalog. Collected in San Pedro Yolox, Oaxaca, Mexico, by Howard F. Cline, 1942-1943; perfect copy; final end papers carry names and signatures: "Cura Reverendo padre predicador General Fco. Burnaldo Vares y Velasco del conbento de Nra. Sra. de la Merced del Obispo de Oaxaca 4 de Junio"; following page: "Es de Fran.co Perez [rubric]." Not generally available to public. Seen by HFC. *Location:* 1701 N. Patrick Henry Drive, Arlington 5, Va., U. S. A.[9]

5. Ugarte-itm. Not recorded in National Union Catalog. Provenance unknown; formerly the property of Salvador Ugarte, this copy is briefly described as #42 in his Catalogue—recently it was included in the transfer of his library from Mexico City, and is now available to the public; identifying characteristics are tears in early and final pages, mended with transparent tape, and a manuscript inscription on the final page. The inscription is almost illegible, and appears to be in a late 18th-century hand, a calligraphic exercise common in such volumes; the only legible portion seems to read: "Mi señor Jesus Cristo en cuando y mi parte doy hijo." The volume carries no ex-libris, brands, nor other signatures to indicate its

[7] Letter, Lawrence C. Wroth, Curator Emeritus, to HFC, 18 Dec. 1957.

[8] For Starr, see Howard F. Cline, "The Chinantla of Northeastern Oaxaca, Mexico. Bio-bibliographical Notes on modern investigations," in Eusebio Dávalos Hurtado and Ignacio Bernal, eds., *Estudios Antropólogicos publicados en homenaje al doctor Manuel Gamio*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología (Mexico, 1956), pp. 635-656, *cit.* pp. 636-637.

[9] For Howard and Mary Cline, *see* Cline, "Bio-bibliographical Notes," *loc. cit.*, pp. 642-643.

earlier history. *Location:* Biblioteca, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico.

6. Robredo-itm. Not recorded in National Union Catalog. Provenance unknown. Not seen by HFC. Formerly in the Colección Robredo, which also has been transferred to Monterrey. The Instituto there thus has 2 copies, the Ugarte and the Robredo. The latter is slightly damaged through pages 16; inside the front cover there are late 18-century notes: "Este Ydioma Chinanteco solo en Yolos se avla [*sic*]. En Thepaetotutla, Thalollintepec Usila Valle Real y theotalsingo ya es diferente"; notes in another hand are illegible excepting the words "el Sr. Provisor"; there is an illegible signature on the title page. *Location:* Biblioteca, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico.[10]

7. Van de Velde-nm. Not recorded in National Union Catalog. Collected in Oaxaca (?), Mexico, by Paul and Henrietta R. Van de Velde; their collection of Mexican materials (8,686 bound volumes and other materials), including the Barreda *Doctrina*, was sold to Library of the University of New Mexico, 1939. Formerly belonged to one Agustín Castillo, but now with Van de Velde bookplate. Seen by HFC. Available to the public. Copy described in ms, "Van de Velde Library Inventory, June 1939," 301 pp., University of New Mexico Library. *Location:* Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M., U. S. A.[11]

B. Location and Present Ownership Uncertain

8. Mendoza-Verheyen (1867). Volume described and cited by Leclerc. Extended correspondence has failed to locate.

9. Porrua (1915). Cited by Palau as having been sold in Mexico, 1914, for 200 Mexican pesos. The correct date was 1915, and the price was $200 (U. S.).[12]

10. Vetusta (1947). Reported by Palau as having been sold in Spain, 1947, for 10,000 pesetas. Correspondence has failed to elicit further information.

11. Fenochio (1952). Original not reported in National Union Catalog. In carrying out a coöperative project to microfilm certain rare materials in Mexico on behalf of the Library of Congress and the Centro de Documentación of the National Museum of History (Mexico), a group filmed a collection of works in native languages located in the private library of D. Guillermo Reimers Fenochio in the

[10] Data on the Ugarte and the Robredo copies supplied in correspondence, esp. ms, Letter, Eugenio del Hoyo, Instituto Tecnológico, Monterrey, to D. Salvador Ugarte, 19 Feb. 1958, kindly furnished by Sr. Ugarte. The Instituto Tecnológico also has a collection of Chinantec mss purchased from Roberto J. Weitlaner, as well as the only known copy of Barreda's *Respuesta*.

[11] Ronald Hilton, comp., *Handbook of Hispanic Source Materials and Research Organizations in the United States* (2nd ed., Stanford, Calif., 1956), p. 258, briefly describes the Van de Velde materials.

[12] Letter, Francisco Porrúa to HFC, 7 Jan. 1958.

city of Oaxaca, Oaxaca. In addition to *Doctrinas* in Zapoteca-Nexitza (1752, 1835) and in Mixe (1729), on the same roll appears the Barreda, also found in that same library. The present whereabouts and accessibility of the original is not known. Presumably it may still be found in the Biblioteca Particular de Don Guillermo Reimers Fenochio, Oaxaca, Oaxaca, Mexico.

Thus, of 11 original copies of Barreda, seven can be located with relative assurance. In addition, four more are known, but their location is less certain. In the United States are five identifiable distinct copies. Three more (Ugarte, Robredo, Fenochio) are in Mexico, two of them in Monterrey. In Europe are probably two copies, one the elusive Mendoza-Verheyen, and the other the Vetusta. The remaining copy on the list, the Porrúa, is probably either in the United States or in Mexico, but no further data on its location are now available.

Bevan (1938) stated, "Another(?) copy is said to have existed in the collection of Francisco Pimentel." This assertion seems to be derived from a reference made by Rudolf Schuller in 1925. In an article on the Chinantec language he wrote, "It seems that an example of this very rare imprint also existed in the rich library of D. Francisco Pimentel." Schuller himself used only the León reprint for his own linguistic work.[13]

[13] Rudolf Schuller, "La lengua chinanteco del estado de Oaxaca, Mex.," Museo Nacional (Mexico), *Anales*, XX (Ep. 4, no. 3, abr.-jun. 1925), pp. 184-191. The Schuller MS Bibliography (Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress) has an entry for the MS Berendt copy of the JCB (A, 1, above) copy.

Gesner, Petzholdt, et al.*

By Stanley Pargellis

FORTY-THREE years ago, at the Red Star Inn in Chicago, a fine, old-style German restaurant unchanged since those days, there was held on the 400th anniversary of Conrad Gesner's birth a meeting at which Dr. J. Christian Bay delivered a paper on this first of bibliographers, subsequently printed in the Society's papers.[1] Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545) purported to list all books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, since the beginning—books in manuscript, books not published, not completed, learned, and unlearned. He missed a good many, because he worked in only a few libraries. What is important about him for my purposes this afternoon is that because he limited his authors to those who wrote in other than the vernacular, he was selective, and second, that he made critical and evaluative remarks on the authors he listed. For him a mere list of books, even of scholars, without some guide to their comparative worth, was unthinkable.

Great bibliographers have been rarer than great scholars. Archer Taylor and I tried to jot down the names, offhand, of a few. Phillippe Labbé in the seventeenth century, Fabricius in the eighteenth, Petzholdt and Brunet in the nineteenth. We found a few more, but not more than eight or ten. The last two were admittedly selective bibliographers, because the mass of books was already in the nineteenth century becoming unmanageable; the earlier aimed at comprehensiveness within a very limited scholarly field. All of them annotated the books they listed.

The earliest bibliographers had no doubts about their purposes: list the books and distinguish between them. Bibliography today has assumed so many hues that it would take me more than the twenty minutes assigned me merely to classify the variations. Bestermann

* Read at the annual meeting of the Society at The Grolier Club, New York City, 23 January 1959.

1 "Conrad Gesner (1516-1565)—The Father of Bibliography—An Appreciation," *PBSA*, 10:53-86, *and* 87-88 (1916).

made the beginnings of a classification: there is systematic and there is critical bibliography, he says. The former deals with books in a field, arranged according to some permanent principle; the second with some particular book, its history, and its variants in printing. The first serves the scholar who wants to know what has been printed on a particular topic; the second concerns the establishment of a sound text. Though both are bibliography, there is a world of difference between the two; I am concerned obviously with the first: books in a field, arranged by some permanent principle.

The plea I shall make this afternoon—and as I look over the papers of the Society, it has been a long time since it was made—is in behalf of selective, annotated bibliography, the kind of bibliography which the great innovators began. We are already lost today in an ocean of books, and as the yet-to-be printing presses of the young nations start pouring their output into the waters, we can lose all chance of finding land again. So-called guides to all publications are being advocated, through the production of what are known as "national bibliographies," wherein shall be listed, without comment, every single book on any subject whatsoever by whomever it may be. Blithely, unimaginatively, and pedantically, if you will permit me to associate the first of those adverbs with the other two, it is somehow believed that if every single book published in the world today gets itself listed, almost immediately, in some massive compilation, the twin ends of national security and of international scholarship are thereby perfectly served. And to make sure of those ends, there is now something called "information retrieval," by which IBM cards will give not only a bibliography on any subject in the world, but also all the facts in all the books.

With this belief and this brave concept I emphatically part company. Let us suppose that we had in print, by some stroke of the Ford Foundation's thumb, all considerations of cost and feasibility for the moment cast aside, a *Bibliotheca Universalis* of 1959, in which were listed alphabetically and perfectly not merely all books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but all books on all subjects in all languages, since the beginning of printing. Perhaps, for the sake of completeness, we should include all books in manuscript of which there is record,

such as the original manuscripts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, which were purchased for the Alexandrine Library. Would we be any better off than we are now? I think not. Our friend William Jackson would still have to be working on a new edition of the STC, but he would be reduced to the hackwork of poring through some thousands of volumes of small-print entries to extract his titles, and he would still be locating perfect copies. Some other dedicated soul, with good eyes, would doubtless set to work on an Italian STC, and a French. And as for the student, the beginning student, the graduate, and the mature, what could he do with this monstrous tool? Almost nothing. The New York Public Library for many years has published lists of its tremendous holdings under various subject headings. When, a few years ago, I wanted to find some good books on eighteenth-century Scotland and turned to the 1,233 pages of Scottish books in the Library, I gave up within three minutes. I was nearly as helpless as if I had had the many-thousand-volumed *Bibliotheca* to scan through. There was no indication whatsoever of comparative worth. Petzholdt—God rest his soul—could put a note after a book, "ohne bibliografische Werth." He had looked at the books; the New York Public Library lister had looked at the title pages, or the catalogue cards.

The only way we can extricate ourselves from the mounting ocean of books, get to shore, and start reading what we haven't much time in one life to read, is through the life rafts of selective, annotated, and —not in Greg's or Bowers' use of the word, but in another—critical bibliography. If there are few life rafts, remember that good bibliographers are rarer than good scholars, and much rarer than authors. There was one Gesner for the host of Renaissance scholars; one Petzholdt, never since quite equalled.

What is it that, in the sense I use the word, makes a good bibliographer? First of all, the creative impulse. I am dead serious about this qualification, shocking as it may seem to all who are not members of this Society. After some small experience in choosing people to compile bibliographies on one subject or another, I am myself shocked at the utter lack of comprehension on the part of some of our foremost historical and literary scholars of what is meant by bibliography. For

them any graduate student out of a job can put a bibliography together. It is to me as if a graduate student, out of a job, could write *The Decline and Fall.*

Let me create for you the task of a real bibliographer. He must choose, in this day, as does a scholar, a field not so limited that he exhausts it within a short time, nor so broad that he can never hope to get to its horizons. Let him amass his titles. Then there he sits, imagine him, surrounded with, shall we say, one or two hundred thousand books. A super-intelligent graduate student, under adequate guidance, might be able to bring 50,000 books, figuratively speaking, together. He would have gone through the reviews, he would have scanned the national bibliographies; he would have not missed what was published, say, on Shakespeare, in the old and now-no-more Hungary; he would have learned a little Russian, and have tried with some difficulty to see whether anything was being written in that country on his subject; and he would have looked at the bibliographies which scholars attach sometimes to their books, and at their footnotes, to see whether they had caught up anything he had missed. The real bibliographer then enters the picture. His task is to tell you, in his own terms, and for his own day, what he considers to be worth while in this spate of books. He must consider also the 150,000 which the graduate student never found, nor was capable of finding.

Now here, I submit, the creative impulse must enter. No one can read 200,000 books and evaluate every one of them. He would be a fool who attempted it. What intelligent guidance can the bibliographer give, for his own day, and if he is really great, like Petzholdt, for a century or more, to those who want to explore the mysteries of the enormous world of books? It is a problem with which the creative bibliographer plays; I repeat, he plays with it. He is concerned, let us say, because he has found a lot of books dealing with it, with the problem of the use of cosmetics in the seventeenth century. No one has written a good modern book on it; if they had, he could cite it and call it a day, with a note pointing out the lacunae. What he has to do is to look at enough seventeenth-century books on cosmetics to discern the main outlines of a book that might some day be written, to give one main reference only, and to indicate in a long footnote what

is the nature of the other materials, pro and con the use of cosmetics. Suppose that you are doing voyages. Do you treat them alphabetically (the easy way), or chronologically, or by places visited, or by importance, distinguishing between the real and fictitious voyages? There is no reason why a bibliographer should think that a scheme he adopts for one section must be therefore obligatory for the others. Let him cut the cloth to fit, as he sees it. Take comics. I have no doubt there are going to be collectors of comic books; there probably are already. And scholars in the future are going to recognize the place of comics in American and world history. The bibliographer must know enough about comics to include those books on, for example, Mickey Mouse, and to be aware that *Tin-tin* has reached London from Paris, and that Popeye's reputation is not confined to the United States.

That is a slightly ridiculous illustration of the point, that the real bibliographer sits in restrained judgment upon all the books on a subject, past and present, and is not afraid to express his opinion. My ideal of the selective, annotated, critical bibliography is that under a main entry, and it does not matter very much if someone disagrees with the book selected for the main entry, everything else closely pertinent is included in a critical bibliographical footnote.

Had I the time, I would have illustrated what I have in mind by giving you, under four main entries, everything that I think the beginning, and the not-so-beginning student today needs to know about books on Samuel Johnson. One head would probably be on the bibliography of Johnson; a second on the *Works*, with a note on what had been done on first editions, and other critical comments; a third on the books about Johnson in his own time, with the main entries obviously Boswell or Pottle; and a fourth on the secondary books about him. All of this in a few pages. If it were done, and the good things given a word of praise, and the less bad merely listed as also-rans, and the really bad omitted altogether, anyone would profit, from the undergraduate doing a term paper to the journalist who has been ordered to do a piece on a 200th anniversary, to the advanced student and the collector himself. I would like to see our President accept this challenge himself, and throw out a life raft; this and notes like this, on all subjects, is the one compelling need today. This short bib-

liography should be as witty as it would be informed. Why should not humor, and irony, and grace of expression, find a place in bibliography?

The answer to that question is that too many bibliographers today mistake the nature of bibliography. They are obsessed with the dogma, taken over from the scholars, that they have to be staid, stolid, dull compilers. Get together all the titles, be fearful lest something be omitted, keep an eye on accuracy of entry, and then list, and number, and index. The ancient, the great challenge they never accept, that after all they are taking the books and making a judgment upon them. I have seen a bibliography in which a 30-page pamphlet gets the same space and treatment as Gesner's *Bibliotheca*. No 30-page pamphlet can be the equivalent of Gesner. First things first, and the 30 pages at the end of a footnote as an also-ran!

Courage is called for here, the same kind of courage which an author must have, who, having amassed his materials, sits down at his desk to make them intelligible and of worth to his peers. If the author simply copies his three-by-five cards on to 8 by 11 pages, as many have done, his work is not worth the printing. If a bibliographer fails equally to use his discrimination and his imagination, he is not living up to his responsibility. This wonderful field of bibliography has been corrupted, I fear, by the deadly dull, IBM, comprehensive-coverage lads who are doing their best to squelch the creative spirit in all fields. This Society would not exist, nor have the members it has, if there were no fun in books. But, perhaps I hear someone say, you are asking for the impossible, an omniscient scholar who will be willing to put his mind and time in an area which most scholars eschew. Not at all. I am asking only for courage and the imagination. Of course anyone who attempts a bibliography must know something about the subject, and love it. I know collectors who, were they persuaded that courage alone was the virtue they lacked, would do a job in the fields in which they have collected that would set all of us in their debt for years to come. Scholars are not definitive; nor should bibliographers expect to be. What they can do is to give guidance to a generation badly in need of it.

Bodoni's First Hundred Printing Commissions

By Robert Frederick Lane

THE usual bibliographies depended upon for identifying Giambattista Bodoni's imprints are De Lama[1] and Brooks.[2] De Lama, Bodoni's friend and biographer, prepared his list shortly after Bodoni's death in 1813, and had the incalculable advantage of access to many, perhaps all, of the original documents and publications.

Brooks, a Scotsman residing in Florence, issued his compilation in 1927, 110 years after that of De Lama, and intended to list a collection of Bodoni materials purchased in 1925 or 1926. Brooks faced the disadvantage of being remote in time from the original Bodoni printings, and unfamiliar with the Bodoni papers which have been preserved. Through mischance, he failed to discover the true richness of the Bodoni items scattered throughout the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma.

For the entire Parmesan career of Bodoni, and for the first two years of the *stamperia* operated by Bodoni's widow, Margherita, De Lama appears to have listed more than 600 items. Brooks, on the other hand, noted 1,417 items, ranging in date from 1768 to 1834. Many of these are not Bodoni titles, nor do they belong to the work of Vedova Margherita Bodoni, owing to a misunderstanding concerning Bodoni's relationship to the official Stamperia Reale, which became in turn the Stamperia Nazionale, Imperiale, and Ducale.

Even so, the list provided by Brooks is much more extensive than that of De Lama, and it appears to demonstrate that De Lama's bibliography was deliberately selective. One observes that it has been

[1] De Lama, Giuseppe, *Vita del Cavaliere Giambattista Bodoni tipografo italiano e catalogo cronologico delle sue edizione.* 2 v. Parma: dalla Stamperia Ducale, MDCCCXVI-[MDCCCXVII].

[2] Brooks, Hugh Cecil, *Compendiosa bibliografia di edizioni bodoniane, a cura di H. C. Brooks, M.A., Oxford.* Firenze: Tipografia Barbèra, MCMXXVII.

the inclusiveness of Brooks's list, not the selectiveness of De Lama, which has strengthened the total picture of Bodoni's incomparable achievements in the fields of type, printing, and book-production.

There is a third source of information concerning Bodoni's activities in Parma as Direttore of the Stamperia Reale, in the Archivio di Stato, Parma, which appears to have been neglected. This is a series of manuscript inventories of the printing work completed, day by day, from 15 October 1768 until 31 December 1777, or for nine years, two and one-half months.[3]

This third source, although limited in time, illustrates with great force the inadequacy of all printed information concerning Bodoni and the output of the Stamperia Reale. This record shows that for the nine-year, two-and-one-half-month period covered, 1,913 printing jobs were completed. The accomplishment is actually greater, for many of the singly numbered entries made during 1776 and 1777 are comprised of from two to nine parts.

By means of the Archivio di Stato, Parma, documents I have prepared the following list of what are there given as the first 100 pieces of printing produced by the Stamperia Reale under Bodoni. Students may make comparisons with the *Catalogo* included by Vincenzo Passerini in his biographical study of 1804,[4] and with the many other

[3] Archivio di Stato. Parma. Stamperia Reale.

(1). Liquidazione Generale de Conti della R. Stamperia, che abbraccia le due Amministrazioni, Bodoni, e Handwerk, e così dal 15. Ottobre 1768. à tutto Luglio 1772. Leaves: 2-132. The catalogue record begins on leaf 14 and ends on leaf 53, and is divided into thirteen accounts.

(2). Liquidazione de Conti della R. Stamperia amministrata dall'Economo Giõ Giorgio Handwerk a tutto Xbre 1773. esequitesi coll'intervento del R. Ispettore di Commercio Gaetano Platestainer, come specialmente Delegato da S.A.R. Leaves: 134-219. The catalogue record begins on leaf 154 and ends on leaf 219, and is divided into twenty-three accounts.

(3). Conto generale della R.e Stamperia per tutto a Dicembre 1777. Parma 11 Xmbre, 1778. Leaves: 220-328. The catalogue record begins on leaf 221 and ends on leaf 328. The period covered is from 1 Gennaio 1774 to 31 Dicembre 1777, and is divided into twenty-four accounts. The record for 1775 begins on leaf 308, and closes on leaf 315. The record for 1777 begins on leaf 323^{v}, and closes on leaf 328.

[4] [Passerini, Vincenzo.] *Memorie aneddote per servire un giorno alla vita del Signor Giovanbattista Bodoni tipografo di sua Maestà Cattolica e Direttore del Parmense tipografeo.* Parma: Dalla Stamperia Carmignani, M.DCCC.IV. Pp. 175-186: "Catalogo dei libri bodoniani finora pubblicati." This appears to be the first independently issued list of Bodoni imprints, but it is a title-for-title copy of a catalogue printed by Bodoni himself, supposedly issued in 1803.

catalogues and booksellers' lists which have since appeared. It is striking that of the 100 jobs mentioned, De Lama notes *three,* while Brooks includes *twelve.*[5] A much higher proportion could have been found by an earnest search of the public catalogues of the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma.[6]

[5] The following table demonstrates the discrepancy between the official record of the press output and the bibliographers' reconstructions.

Short Title (from Brooks)	Brooks No.	De Lama v. 2	ASP Job No.
I Voti. Canto per la felicemente restituita salute di . . . Don Guglielmo Du Tillot . . .	L 1. (*see Note "a" below*)	p. 3	1
Joseph Pagninii pistoriensis . . . *Oratio habita in solemne Studiorum . . .*	*4.		11
Programma di un corso di storia generale del Signor Abate Millot . . .	*3.		12
Danielis Melandri et Paulli Frisii alterius ad alterium *de theoria lunae commentarii.*	*10.		31
Ara Amicitiae Parmae in foro maiori . . . [600 copies]	5.	p. 3-4	58
Ara Amicitiae . . . [second edition] [100 copies]	5.(2)	p. 3-4	63
Pastorale recitata nel R. Teatro di Colorno . . .	*11.		67
Le Feste d'Apollo celebrate sul di Corte . . .	*8.		79
Le Pastorelle d'Arcadia, festa campestre . . . [500 copies]	*9.		87
In nuptiis aug. princ. Ferdinandi I et Mariae Amaliae poemata anatolico-polyglotta . . .	1415. a)		88
Eco e Narciso, componimento drammatico . . .	*7.		89
Le Pastorelle d'Arcadia . . . [second edition] [1800 copies]	*9.(2)		90
Descrizione delle Feste celebrate in Parma . . . (*see Note "b" below*)	6.	p. 4	118

Note a) Brooks*2. (1768), *Memoria della corte di Parma* . . . , was not printed by the Stamperia Reale under the direction of Bodoni.

Note b) The title, *Descrizione delle Feste celebrate in Parma l'anno MDCCLXIX per le auguste nozze di S.A.R. l'Infante Don Ferdinando colla R. Arcid. Maria Amalia* . . . (De Lama II, p. 4; Brooks 6 [1769]), celebrates a tourney held in the Ducal Garden, Parma, from the 8th to the 10th of September, 1769. It falls outside the first 100 printings included in this article since it had the job number 118. It was probably completed on 2 November 1769, ASP, Stamperia Reale, leaves 33-34, "Real Casa."

[6] An instance of a Stamperia Reale imprint, dated 1768, to be found in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, included in the ASP Stamperia Reale documents, well known to local Parmesan historians, but omitted in all Bodoni bibliographies is:

Esame storico legale teologico sopra le lettere in forma di breve pubblicate in Roma il 1 Settembre 1768 contro gli editti dei Reali Sovrani di Parma emanati intorno l'immunità e disciplina ecclesiastica. Parma: Stamperia Reale, 1768. 4.° Pp. 192.

This title is to be found in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, with three copies under the two *collocazioni:* Misc. Ges., Sal. Q1, and Misc. Mor. 56. It is recorded in the ASP Stamperia Reale, under the account, "Du Tillot," as job number 19, leaf 46, and

For reasons unknown to us the bookkeeping record is not maintained as scrupulously beginning with 1 January 1778. This makes it evident that any bibliography of Bodoni's printing, whether from the *Stamperia Reale* or the *stamperia particolare,* and until Margherita Bodoni ceased to print (probably in 1834), will have to be derived from the location and examination of extant examples.

Students should be cautioned not to trust completely the Archivio di Stato documents.[7] There exist in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, a number of items, bearing the Stamperia Reale imprint, demonstrably printed between 1768 and 1777, no mention of which can be found in the cited Archivio documents.[8]

Checklist

In the following list the headings represent: (a) the job number as given in the Archivio di Stato, Parma, manuscript, (b) the date of completion, (c) the name of the account, under which is given the number of the leaf on which

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was apparently completed 23 February 1769. It is cited in: Raimondo di Soragna, *Bibliografica storica e statuaria delle Provincie Parmense.* Parma: Luigi Battei, 1886, as No. 281, and in Stefano Lottici and Guiseppe Sitti, *Bibliografia Generale per la storia Parmense,* Parma: Zerbini, 1904, as No. 1032.

[7] The first work printed by Bodoni in Parma, long considered in bibliographies to be *I Voti,* may probably be regarded with doubt. At least two other possible "first" works are deducible from the literature and the ASP documents.

(1) Umberto Benassi, *Il Tipografo Giambattista Bodoni e i Suoi Allievi Punzonisti,* Parma, 1913, p. 32, footnote 5, cites a letter, dated 21 Agosto 1781, written by Giandomenico Bodoni, mentioning the work: *Paulii Frisii . . . De Theoria Lunae,* as having been produced "anteriore a *I Voti* di Frugoni." (Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni, court poet and author of *I Voti* (1692-1768); Pauli Frisii (1729-1784).) See this list, No. 31 (11 Aprile 1769) ASP leaf 33, Real Casa, and Brooks 10 (1769).

It is more probable that Giandomenico Bodoni refers in his letter to the first book for which he served as type compositor, since he did not arrive in Parma until the middle of October, 1768 (Benassi, p. 32, and n.1), and may have been little versed in the vertical and horizontal justifications required in mathematical composition.

(2) For what appears to be the first public notice printed by the Stamperia Reale, see Archivio di Stato Job No. 8, *Editti in proscrizione della Bolla. . . .*

[8] For example among the "Fogli volanti" collection of the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, a *Sonetto:*

Date: 1773
Author: Bodoni (Del Direttore della R. Stamperia, Bodoni).
Top Matter: Pel faustissimo nascimento del real principe primogenito . . .
Incipit: Alza Parma regale il capo altero . . .
Imprint: Dalla Reale Stamperia / MDCCLXXIII
17.4 x 11.2 cm. trimmed; white laid paper, chain lines vertical; watermark: BM and star. Cover, T-p.; pp. I-VI.

the record may be found in the Archivio (ASP) documents, and (d) the number or quantities produced, with a shortened form of the title or description of the printing job, as it appears. Where it is appropriate, full titles from De Lama and Brooks are provided. Notes and comments have been inserted where useful. It is the compiler's belief that the Archivio di Stato record of the Stamperia Reale productions was prepared subsequently from day books or journals which are no longer extant. (See footnote 3.)

1768

Job No.	Date	Account	Description
1	15 Ott.	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	110 Copie d'un Canto del Abate Frugoni . . . *I Voti.* Canto per le felicemente restituita salute di Sua Eccellenza il Signor Don Guglielmo Du-Tillot Marchese di Felino, primo Ministro, e Segretario di Stato di S. A. R.-La Medaglia d'oro che si distribuiva dall'Acc. delle B[elle] A[rti].—In Parma MDCCLXVIII. In-8°. *carta reale.* De Lama II, p. [3]. Brooks L 1. (Note) Du Tillot suffered from gout in October, 1765, and in September, 1768. *I Voti* . . . gives the impression of being a hurried piece of printing.
2	25 Ott.	Università ASP leaf 18	180 Copie Elenco de' Professori . . .
3	25 Ott.	Università ASP leaf 18	60 Copie [Elenco de' Professori] per Piacenza . . .

4	25 Ott.	Università ASP leaf 18	30 Copie del Elencho de' Professori di Guastalla, Busetto, Borgo S. Donino, e di Borgo Taro . . .
5	25 Ott.	Università ASP leaf 18	50 Copie Calendarj per le scuole di Parma . . .
6	30 Ott.	Università ASP leaf 18	50 Copie Calendarj per le scuole di Piacenza . . .
7	2 Nov.	Università ASP leaf 18	60 Copie (nuova composizione) Calend. per le scuole di Parma . . .
8	5 Nov.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	1080 Copie Editti in proscrizione della Bolla . . .

Gridario degli Stati di Parma, 1768. Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, 24115/30 (1768) No. 78. [Avviso]

"Ferdinando per la grazia di Dio, Infante di Spagna, Duca di Parma, di Piacenza, di Guastalla, &c. &c. &c. Tra le molte sollecitudini, con cui la Corte di Roma ha procurato in ogni tempo, e particolarmente negli oscuri secoli dell'ignoranza . . . tanto più e notoria la Bolla chiamata—*In Coena Domini* . . ."

Leaf, 58.3 x 43 cm.

Dated: (1) ASP documents, 5 Nov. 1768; (2) in text, "dal Palazzo di Nostra Reale Residenza," 3 Nov. 1768; but issued between 19 October and 14 November 1768.

First known use of the imprint: "In Parma, nella notices (*gridario*).

9	5 Nov.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	60	Copie lettera circolare della R. Giunta . . .
10	3 Dec.	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	60	Copie d'un prefazione francese del Abate Millot . . .
11	11 Dec.	Università ASP leaf 18	150	Copie Orazioni degli Studi del P. Pagnini . . . Josephi Pagnini pistoriensis Ord. Carm. in Regio Parmensi Archigymnasio latinarum, graecarumque literarum professoris Oratio habita in solemne studiorum instauratione anno MDCCLXVIII. In Reg. Parmen. Biblioth. Parmae ex Typographia Regia. In-8°. Brooks *4.
12	15 Dec.	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	100	Copie Programma italiano e francese per la Cattedra d'Istoria . . . Programma di un corso di storia generale del Signor Abate Millot Regio Professore nella Università di Parma, socio delle Accademie di Lione e di Nancy. Dalla Reale Stamperia MDCCLXVIII, *S.L.*, in-8°. Brooks *3.
13	15 Dec.	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	200	Copie Manifesti per la poesie del Abate Frugoni . . .

1769

Job No.	Date	Account		Description
14	24 Gen.	Supremo Magistrato	300	Editti imponenti i carichi personali Ecclesiastici e

		ASP leaf 21		Regal. corpi del Ducato di Guastalla . . .
15	7 Feb.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	1000	Copie Editti riguardanti i Regolari e luoghi pii . . .
16	10 Feb.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	750	Copie di detto Editto . . .
17	12 Feb.	Università ASP leaf 18	500	Biglietti di Licenza per intervenire alle Lezioni del Sig.r Millot . . .
18	12 Feb.	Università ASP leaf 18	250	Avvisi del Sig. Millot . . .
19	23 Feb.	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	525	Copie del libro Esame Storico legale sopra le lettere di Roma . . .
20	28 Feb.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	200	Copie del metodo da tenersi per la formazione . . . de' Conventi . . .
21	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comune ASP leaf 30	1500	Copie Avvisi per provveder le legna alla R. Casa . . .
22	11 Marzo	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	400	Programma per la celebrazione d'un Torneo . . .
23	13 Marzo	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40	2	Risme mandati spese per li Beni . . .
24	13 Marzo	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40	2	Risme mandati R.D. Camera Provvigionati in Parma . . .
25	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comune ASP leaf 30	600	Copie Ordini per far somministrare Uomini che vadino a lavorare alla Strada di Genova.
26	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comune ASP leaf 30	60	Lettere circolari per accompagnare gli ordini suddetti e altre 60 . . .
27	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comune ASP leaf 30		Una risma Ordini Ruota Ordinaria

28	3 Aprile	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	600	Avvisi per il passaggio de' Pelegrini . . .
29	4 Aprile	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	100	Patenti per l'Agricoltura . . .
30	3 Aprile	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	60	Copie Cedola d'Avviso per l'affitto de' Beni nel Ducato di Piacenza
31	10 Aprile	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	220	Copie del Libro d'Algebra de Theoria Luna . . . Danielis Melandri et Paulli Frisii alterius ad alterium de theoria lunae commentarii. Parmae. Ex Typographia Regia. MDCCLXIX. In-4°. Brooks *10.
32	11 Aprile	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	100	Copie del Commercio . . .
33	3 Aprile	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21		Una risma lettere circolari . . .
34	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comuni ASP leaf 30	600	Copie Istruzioni . . .
35	24 Aprile	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	150	Avvisi agli Amatori dell'-Agricoltura . . .
36	27 Aprile	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	300	Copie della convenzione tra S. M. Christ. e S.A.R. . . .
37	29 Aprile	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	800	Copie Editti per l'Inquisizione . . . The Holy Office was suspended 2 March 1769; restored, 2 August 1780.
38	1 Maggio	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	500	Copie avvisi per la contrattazione ossia mercato delle Galette . . .
39	2 Maggio	Università ASP leaf 18	10	Copie di 12 formule da pronunziarsi in varie occasioni . . .

40	2 Maggio	Università ASP leaf 18	10 Copie della professione di fede . . .
41	27 Aprile	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	500 Copie della Cantata al Ballo la favola d'Ali [sic, for Aci] e Galatea . . .
42	27 Aprile	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	150 Copie Viglietti per avvisare le Dame di ritrovarsi abbigliate nel Salone della R. Corte . . .
43	12 Maggio	Università ASP leaf 18	10 Copie di 12 formole colla professione di fede . . .
44	18 Maggio	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	6 frontispizi varj per mostra pel libro della Descrizione delle feste . . . These are "proofs" for the title page of Brooks 6. The complete work was finished on 2 Nov. 1769, job number 118, Real Casa leaf 33. See also footnote 5 of the text.
45	18 Maggio	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	Un mezzo foglio per mostra per opera del Abate Condillac . . . A "proof" for Brooks 203, a thirteen-volume work which was finished in 1773 and finally released for publication in 1782.
46	18 Maggio	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	Un mezzo foglio del Carattere lettura . . .
47	22 Maggio	Comunità ASP leaf 52	d'Una Risma Mandati pel Monte detto Quartiere . . .
48	22 Maggio	Comunità ASP leaf 52	d'Una Risma Mandati pel Monte detto Milizia . . .
49	22 Maggio	Comunità ASP leaf 52	d'Una Risma Mandati pel Monte detto Donativo . . .

50	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comuni ASP leaf 30		Risma Avvisi per sollecitare la condotta della legna . . .
51	29 Maggio	R. Biblioteca ASP leaf 49	30	Copie Avvisi da affigersi nella R. Biblioteca . . .
52	9 Marzo	Uff. de Comuni ASP leaf 30		Una Risma Ordini per il Carreggio de fieni . . .
53	1 Giugno	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	600	Copie Avviso pel Magazzino generale de' Stracci . . .
54	2 Giugno	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	100	Copie d'Avvisi per il Sale esente degli Ecclesiastici forensi . . .
55	3 Giugno	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40		d'Una Risma Mandati de' sussidj caritatevoli . . .
56	5 Giugno	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40		d'Una Risma Mandati . . .
57	7 Giugno	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	300	Avvisi per la contrattazione delle Galette . . .
58	12 Giugno	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	600	Copie Descrizione Italiana e francese del monumento della piazza di Parma . . . *Ara Amicitiae* Parmae in foro maiori VII. Idus Iunii MDCCLXVIIII.-medaglia dell'-Imperatore Giuseppe II) S. L. nè d. In-f.° imperiale. De Lama II, p. [3]-4. Brooks 5. (Note: An example of this first edition is owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library and is the earliest Bodoni work in the United States.)

59	16 Giugno	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	60 Copie Cedola d'Avviso per l'affitto d'alcuni Beni di Roccabianca . . .
60	19 Giugno	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 21	100 Copie Cedola d'Avviso di due terzi del dazio delle contrattazione del fieno in Piacenza . . .
61	22 Giugno	Accad. delle Belle Arti ASP leaf 44	600 Viglietti d'Avviso di Sig.ri Cav. di convenire nelle Sala della R. Accademia . . .
62	23 Giugno	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	100 Copie Regolamento del Torneo da esequirsi . . .
63	27 Giugno	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	100 altre copie del Monumento nuova composizione . . . The second edition of Job No. 58., *Ara Amicitiae* . . . De Lama II, p. [3]-4. Brooks 5.
64	1 Luglio	Reale Collatereria ASP leaf 27	2 Risme Biglietti di Arrolazione pei soldati nazionali . . .
65	4 Luglio	Annona ASP leaf 15	300 Gride per la consegna de' grani . . .
66	4 Luglio	Annona ASP leaf 15	200 [Gride] a forme di libro . . .
67	6 Luglio	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	1000 Copie del Componimento Licida e Mopso . . . *Pastorale* recitata nel R. Teatro di Colorno in festeggiamento dell'arrivo di S.A.R. l'Arciduchessa Maria Amalia nostra graziosissima Sovrana . . . In Parma. MDCCLXVIIII. Nella Stamperia Reale. In-4° picc. Brooks *11.

68	10 Luglio	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	300	Copie de' Capitoli da osservarsi per la macina della Città di Parma . . .
69	10 Luglio	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	60	Copie d'Avviso per l'affitto d'alcune possessioni di Roccabianca . . .
70	12 Luglio	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	80	Cedola d'avviso per l'affitto della terza parte della contrattazione del fieno di Piacenza . . .
71	13 Luglio	Annona ASP leaf 15	1150	Stati, osia quinternetti per la consegna de' grani . . . , 650 stampati da due parti . . .
72	12 Luglio	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	800	Avvisi per le denuncie degli Animali Suini . . .
73	15 Luglio	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	300	Copie Viglietti alla Nobiltà come debba pararsi nell'-avviso della Real Sposa . . .
74	17 Luglio	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40		d'Una mezza Risma mandati: Venture . . .
75	24 Agosto	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22		Una mezza Risma lettere circolari . . .
76	17 Luglio	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40		d'Una Risma Mandati Provvigionati Militari con ritiro . . .
77	17 Luglio	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40		d'Una mezza Risma a Recipiat . . .
78	6 Agosto	Annona ASP leaf 15		Bollette per l'introduzione de' grani . . .
79	8 Agosto	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	2600	Copie de quattro atti nelle feste nuziali . . .

Le Feste D'Apollo celebrate sul teatro di Corte nell' Agosto del MDCCLXIX per le auguste seguite nozze tra il Real Infante Don Ferdinando e la R. Arciduchessa Infanta Maria Amalia . . . Parma nella Stamperia Reale. In-4°.
Brooks *8.

80 10 Agosto — Comunità ASP leaf 52 — d'Una risma Mandati . . .

81 16 Agosto — Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22 — 600 Copie Tasse de' Bargelli e Birri . . .

82 17 Agosto — Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22 — 2000 Tasse suddette a forma di libro . . .

83 17 Agosto — Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22 — 400 lettere circol. per le suddette Tasse . . .

84 23 Agosto — Real Casa ASP leaf 33 — 300 Editti per l'indulto de'Banditi . . .

85 17 Agosto — Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22 — 300 Avvisi per la consegna degli Animali Suini . . .

86 25 Agosto — Real Casa ASP leaf 33 — 100 Altre copie Editti de'Banditi . . .

87 31 Agosto — Real Casa ASP leaf 33 — 500 Copie del Arcadia . . .
Le Pastorelle d'Arcadia, festa campestre nelle Augustissime nozze. . . . del Reale Infante di Spagna Don Ferdinando. . . . e. . . . Maria Amalia. In Parma. MDCCLXIX. Nella Stamperia Reale. In-4°.
Brooks *9.

88	1 Sett.	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	100	Copie del poema in 7 lingue del Sig.r De-Rossi . . . In nuptis aug. princ. Ferdinandi I et Mariae Amaliae poemata anatolico-polyglotta cum lat. vers. Parmae ex Regia Typographia 1769. In-4°. Brooks 1415 a).
89	2 Sett.	Du Tillot ASP leaf 46	1200	Copie drammatico Eco e Narciso . . . *Eco e Narciso*, componimento drammatico rappresentato nel teatro di Corte in tempo delle feste per le auguste seguite nozze de' Reali Sovrani. In Parma. MDCCLXIX. Nella Stamperia Reale. In-4°. Brooks *7.
90	15 Sett.	Real Casa ASP leaf 33	1800	Copie (ristampa) dell'Arcadia . . . The second edition of Job No. 87., *Le Pastorelle d'Arcadia* . . . Brooks *9.
91	18 Sett.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	2	Risme Licenze per tagliare piante nei boschi di S. A. R. . . .
92	19 Sett.	Uff. Comuni ASP leaf 31		Una Risma Ordini Ruota civile straordinaria . . .
93	19 Sett.	Annona ASP leaf 15	200	Biglietti d'Avviso . . .
94	19 Sett.	Annona ASP leaf 15		Una risma Biglietta di Licenza per macinare . . .
95	22 Sett.	Real Casa ASP leaf 33		d'Una Risma Ordini sopra il frumento . . .

96	18 Sett.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	2 Risme Viglietti per la Somministrazione del Sale agli Ecclesiastici . . .
97	3 Ott.	Reale Computisteria ASP leaf 40	¼ Risma Mandati Esecutori di Giustizia . . .
98	3 Ott.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	60 Copie Tasse per li Notari dell'Uffizio delle Biade di Bussetto . . .
99	3 Ott.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	40 Copie Cedola d'Avviso per il nuovo affitto della Possessione la Codestiera . . .
100	9 Ott.	Supremo Magistrato ASP leaf 22	60 Cedola d'Avviso d'Alcuni bene e diritti del feudo di Roccabianca . . .

A Checklist of the Work of B. Traven and the Critical Estimates and Biographical Essays on Him; together with a Brief Biography

By E. R. Hagemann

BECAUSE B. Traven's work has been published in twenty-one languages and some 237 separate editions since April 1926, when his first novel appeared in Germany; because he has written a total of fifteen books—eleven novels, two novelettes, one book of short stories, and one travel book; and because these books have sold well into the millions of copies and have internationally excited comment from critics and readers alike for over thirty years, it would not be amiss to preface this checklist of his writings and critical estimates of him with a thorough and informative biographical sketch. Such a sketch, however, will not be given here; rather, it will be a short and hazy one, its accuracy and informativeness not to be accounted for. I cannot promise more, for B. Traven is probably the most mysterious and baffling of all modern writers: a man who has seemingly courted obscurity as another might court fame and notoriety, courted oblivion with an almost pathological intensity. Occasionally, this mysteriousness has been lessened by a letter or communication from him (irritating in its vagueness), or by an article either by one who puts forth claims of personal acquaintanceship or second-hand familiarity or by one who seems deliberately to confuse the picture even more with wild and totally imaginative writing.

The result, for one interested in Traven as a man and as a writer, is more than another "quest for Corvo." At best, one can only patch together a chaotic *mélange* of what appear to be facts, guesses, legends, myths, and downright unadorned lies; and after completing his patchwork, can but suggest that this *may* be Traven's biography, but nothing more. My efforts, for example, to establish whether he is still alive have met with total failure; letters to supposed sources of information have proved futile gestures. No one *knows* anything about him, or, worse, will not relate what he knows or will at first boast

knowledge, then later plead ignorance in order to bolster the Traven mystery.

However, something can be written about Traven, and what that is follows, the reader again being warned to beware.

That he is a native-born American seems fairly certain. The German public has from the beginning insisted on this and the fact that his novels usually have been translated from English into German lends credence to the idea. Sr. Luis Spota's article in *Mañana* in August 1948, badly written and badly presented, offers evidence that Traven was born in Chicago, Illinois, on March 5, 1890, of Swedish descent and that his name is Berick Traven Torsvan. Although Spota's evidence is difficult to put aside, Traven has categorically denied that his name is B. Traven (also not Bruno, Ben, or Benno); and so have Manfred Georg and Leopold Spitzegger, who offer evidence, also difficult to put aside, that Traven's true identity is to be discovered under the name Richard Maurhut, or the truncated nickname "Ret Marut."

We can only wonder and continue the story, saying that he entered Mexico in June 1914 from the United States, possibly because of his activities in the I.W.W. (One writer asserts that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has a dossier on his political activities in this country.) In Mexico Traven appears to have worked in the oil fields, picked cotton, driven cattle, and led a nomad life that took him about a great deal. Herr Spitzegger claims that Traven appeared in Munich in 1917 (how an American entered Germany during World War I is not explained) and founded a radical newspaper called *Der Ziegelbrenner* (*The Brickmaker*). He called himself "Ret Marut." He continued his political interests by participating in the revolution in Bavaria in 1919 and barely escaped with his life. After this he occasionally published his newspaper under great handicaps until about 1922 or 1923—or so I guess. He also may have written some political articles and published a volume of short stories entitled *An das Fraulein von S.* . . . under the name Richard Maurhut.

In 1925 a large Berlin daily edited by Karl Doescher serialized Traven's *Der Wobbly*, the first version of *Die Baumwollpflücker* (*The Cotton-Pickers*). By that time, if indeed he had ever departed, Traven was back in Mexico, either in the oil-rich state of Tamaulipas or in

the state of Chiapas. He has lived in both places. He remained here, in the habitat of the Indian, for some years, possibly until 1930 or thereabouts. At this time he seems to have moved to Acapulco de Juarez, Guerrero. Meanwhile his books were being published in Germany and throughout Europe in rather rapid succession. His German (and Swiss) publisher, Büchergilde Gutenberg, denied any personal knowledge of the man and revealed nothing of him but a few quotations from his letters; and much of what they did was at the strict orders of Traven himself, who violently insisted on no publicity of any kind. (He stipulated that Knopf publish *The Death Ship* with only a plain dust jacket, without blurb, biography, or anything else; and that there be no advertising connected with its sales.) The books sold amazingly well and were received enthusiastically in Germany and elsewhere, except for the startling exception of the United States. Hitler's advent finally brought an end to his German publication, but Büchergilde Gutenberg continued to publish him in Zürich.

In Mexico, Traven seems to have turned over his affairs to the care of Señorita Esperanza López Mateos, a lawyer and translator of his books into Spanish; she performed her primary duty quite well: maintaining Traven's secret and his passion for oblivion. She herself was not without mystery; she died of cancer some years ago. In 1947, John Huston went to Mexico to direct a motion picture version of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, for which the script and rights had been negotiated by Mr. Paul Kohner, a respected actors' agent in Hollywood. On the set in Mexico, Huston encountered one "Hal Croves," whom Huston later insisted was Traven; but Croves insisted equally vehemently that he was not—in letters to *Time* and *Life*, under the name "Croves," and from San Antonio, Texas, and Mexico City.

In July 1948, Sr. Luis Spota, Chief of Information for *Mañana*, went to Acapulco and found Traven, he noisily bandied about, living there in a rather nondescript ranch *cum* Coca-Cola-hot-dog stand. He talked to him, recorded the somewhat disjointed conversations, opened his mail, and combed the public records of the Mexican government to learn what he could about him. Spota also photographed him, under protest, and when these pictures (none full-face) are compared with a photograph of "Hal Croves" taken on Huston's set

and with one apparently of Traven taken in the middle 1920's, when he was a member of an expedition in Chiapas, the evidence suggests that all are of the same man.

The man in Acapulco said he was Traven's cousin and that Traven was a patient in Davos, Switzerland. The man in Acapulco said that Traven had not written a line since 1935. The man in Acapulco pleaded to be left alone.

Such is the record of B. Traven, for here it abruptly ends. It is incomplete and confused and contradictory without parallel.

CHECKLIST

A few words of explanation about the methods employed in this checklist: The works of Traven are arranged chronologically in order of appearance; each title is then treated chronologically in order of editions. Notes on publication date, when known, are given, as are notes on sales, total copies of printings or editions, and other pertinent information (including the language, when not obvious). In order to avoid too much translating, I have translated, in brackets, only when the title is somewhat removed in meaning from the original. In the case of Russian editions, I have listed first the transliteration and then given the Cyrillic characters in parentheses. Publishing houses and series are first translated and then, in parentheses, are given in the original or in transliteration.

In Sections I-IV, I have tried to be as exhaustive as possible, knowing well that I have undoubtedly overlooked some items. I have not included questionable items which I cannot verify at least partially; this would include pirated editions, of which there seem to have been many, especially in central Europe and in Latin America. Section V.A. is selective; Section V.B. is again as complete as possible, newspaper articles excepted.

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. D. M. Krassovsky, Mrs. Ralph Cohen, and to the staff of the Library, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California, and especially to Dr. Lawrence Clark Powell, Librarian, who so kindly turned over to me his material on Traven; to Professor Noel Voge, Department of Slavic Languages, and to Professor Erik Wahlgren, Department of Germanic Languages, University of California, Los Angeles 24.

	German	Dutch	Swedish	Norwegian	Danish	French	Spanish	Italian	English	Finnish	Lettish	Polish	Czech	Hungarian	Russian	Bulgarian	Yugoslav (Serb. Croat)	Yugoslav (Slovene)	Hebrew	Japanese	Slovak	No. of Lang. Trans.	Total Eds.
Die Baumwollpflücker	6	1	1	2	1				1		1			1			2	1				10	17
Die Brücke im Dschungel	1		1	1	1		2	2	4			1	1									9	14
Der Busch	3		1				1					1	1				1					6	8
Ein General Kommt aus dem Dschungel	2		1		1				1								1	1				6	7
Der Karren	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2			4	1	3	1		1					14	25
Land des Frühlings	3																					1	3
Macario	1																					1	1
Der Marsch ins Reich der Caoba	2		1											1								3	4
Der Rebellion der Gehenkten	2	1	2			2	4	1	3				1		2		1				1	11	20
Regierung	4	1	1	2	2		1	1	2								1					9	15
Der Schatz der Sierra Madre	9	1	2	3	1	4	3	2	9	1		1	5	1	3		1	1	1	1		18	49
Sonnen-Schöpfung	1												1									2	2
Das Totenschiff	12	2	2	2	5	3	3	2	6				1	2	3	1	1				2	15	47
Die Troza	1	1	1										1									4	4
Der Weisse Rose	3	1	1	2	2	1	2	1				1	1	1			1	1	2		1	15	21
	55	9	15	13	15	11	17	10	20	1	1	8	13	9	9	1	10	4	3	1	4		237

I. Books: Fiction and Non-Fiction.

Das Totenschiff. [*The Death Ship.*]

1. *Das Totenschiff;* die Geschichte eines Amerikanischen Seemanns. Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1926. 256 pp.
   (Published April, 1926. A printing of 30,000 copies; sales shortly exceeded 100,000. In 1932, *Deutscher Literatur Kalendar* put the total at 110,000 in Germany; in 1936, the total was reported to be over 120,000.)
2. *Satt Utenfor.* [*Outside the Pale.*] Oslo: P. M. Bye & Co., 1929. 248 pp. Trans. from German by Leif Scheen.
3. *Korabl' Smerti.* (Корабль смерти.) Moscow-Leningrad: "Moscow Worker" (Moskovskiĭ Rabochiĭ), 1929. 326 pp. Trans. from German by E. I. Greiner-Gekk.
   (A printing of 6,000 copies.)
4. ———. 1929. 298 pp. 2nd edition.
   (A printing of 15,000 copies. See *Knizhnaia Letopis'*, No. 9, March 5, 1929, p. 676; and No. 24, June 18, 1929, pp. 1929-1930.)
5. *Dödsskeppet;* en Amerikansk sjömans historia. Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1929. 324 pp. Trans. from German by Eugen Alban.
   (Announced in *Svensk Bokförteckning*, April, 1929, p. 44.)
6. *Das Totenschiff;* die Geschichte eines Amerikanischen Seemanns. Berlin: Buchmeister Verlag, [1930]. 354 pp.
7. ———. Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1930. 354 pp.
8. ———. Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1930. 356 pp.
9. *Het Doodenschip;* het verhaal van een Amerikaans zeeman. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1931. 381 pp. "Authorized translation" from German by T. de Jong.
10. ———. 1935. 2nd edition.
    (A "cheap" edition.)
11. *Das Totenschiff;* die Geschichte eines Amerikanischen Seemanns. Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1931. 256 pp.
    (Another edition of No. 8 above.)
12. *Korabl' Smerti.* (Корабль смерти.) Moscow: "Young Guard" (Molodaîa Guardiîa), 1931. 164 pp. Trans. from German by E. I. Greiner-Gekk.
    (Designated "a narrative for teen-agers"; illus. by A. Zhukov.)
13. *El Barco de los Muertos;* historia de un marinero Americano. Madrid: Zeus, 1931. 356 pp. Trans. by José de Unamuno.
14. *Dödsskibet;* en Amerikansk sömands historie. Copenhagen: Fremad, 1931. 254 pp. Trans. from German by Hans Kirk.

15. ———. 1931, 2nd edition; 1932, 3rd edition; 1933, 4th edition.
16. *A Halálhajó;* egy Amerikai tengerész története. Budapest: Pantheon, 1933. 319 pp. Trans. from German by László Dormándi.
(Half-title: "The Masters of Fiction" [A Regény Mesterei].)
17. *The Death Ship;* the story of an American sailor. London: Chatto & Windus, 1934. 311 pp. Trans. from German by Eric Sutton.
(Publication announced January, 1934.)
18. ———. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. 372 pp.
(Publication announced April, 1934. This is an English language version by Traven and not a translation from German. The book sold very poorly in the United States, the sales by July, 1938, having reached 3,288.)
19. ———. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1934. 372 pp.
20. *Vaisseau Fantôme;* histoire d'un marin Américain. Paris: E. Flammarion, [1934]. 252 pp. Trans. from German by Charles Burghard.
21. *The Death Ship;* the story of an American sailor. London: Chatto & Windus, 1935. 312 pp. Trans. from German by Eric Sutton.
(The "uniform edition"; publication announced October, 1935.)
22. *Lod' Mŕtvych;* príbeh Amerického námorníka. Bratislava: Union of Friends of Classic Books (Spoločnost' priatel'ov klasických knih), 1936. 247 pp.
(Slovak. Trans. from German by Viktoria Dvořáková-Hašpelová.)
23. *Das Totenschiff;* die Geschichte eines Amerikanischen Seemanns. Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1937. 325 pp. Trans. from English by Wilhelm Ritter.
24. *The Death Ship;* the story of an American sailor. London: Jonathan Cape, 1940. 388 pp.
(One of a projected "collected edition"; publication announced March, 1940. Cf. No. 126 below.)
25. *El Barco de los Muertos.* México, D.F.: No publ., 1945. 329 pp.
(With an introduction, "Bruno Traven, El Escritor Incognito," by Oscar Cerruto, pp. [7]-14. See No. 340 in Section V. B. below.)
26. *Korb"t na Sm"rtta.* (Корбът на смъртта.) Sofia: M. G. Smirkarov, 1946. 288 pp. Trans. from German by Ivaila Vulkova.
27. *Lod' Mrtvých.* Prague: V. Škubal, 1946. 289 pp. Trans. from German by Jiřina Vaněčková.
28. *Das Totenschiff.* Tenafly, N. J.: H. Fel. Kraus, 1946. 325 pp.
29. ———. Hamburg: Krüger, [1948]. 278 pp.
30. ———. Vienna: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1948. 230 pp.
31. ———. Vienna: Wiener Volksbuchverlag, [1948]. 230 pp.
(Designated as the 6th printing. I have no information on previous printings.)

32. *Loď Mŕtvych.* Bratislava: Tatran, 1949. 247 pp. Trans. from German by V. Dvořáková-Hašpelová.
(Slovak. A reprint of No. 22 above.)

33. *A Halálhajó;* egy Amerikai tengerész története. Budapest: Szikra, 1949. 250 pp. Trans. from German by László Dormándi.
(Possibly a new edition of No. 16 above.)

34. *The Death Ship;* the story of an American sailor. London: Pan Books, 1950. 250 pp. Trans. from German by Eric Sutton.
(Publication announced August, 1950. No. 145 in series. Cf. No. 17 above.)

35. *La Nave Morta.* Milan: Longanesi, 1950. 404 pp. Trans. from English by Teresa Pintacuda.

36. *Dødsseileren;* en Amerikansk sjømanns historie. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1950. 319 pp. Trans. from English by Eli Krog.

37. *El Barco de la Muerte.* México, D.F.: Compañia General de Ediciones, [1950]. 461 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Colección Ideas, Letras y Vida.)

38. *Le Vaisseau Fantôme;* histoire d'un marin Américain. Lausanne: La Guilde du Livre, 1951. 244 pp. Trans. from English by Philippe Jacottet.

39. *Dödsskeppet.* Stockholm: Tiden, 1951. 302 pp. Trans. from English by A. Forsström.
(Tiden's Book Club; a new edition.)

40. *Dødsskibet.* Copenhagen: Fremad, 1952. 230 pp. Trans. from German by Hans Kirk.

41. *Das Totenschiff;* die Geschichte eines Amerikanischen Seemanns. Frankfurt: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1952. 256 pp. Trans. from English by Bruno Skibbe.

42. *Mrtvački Brod;* doživljaji Američkog mornara. Novi Sad: Serbian Literary Society (Matica Srpska), 1952. 271 pp. Trans. from German by Jovan Popović.
(Serbo-Croatian. A printing of 5,000 copies.)

43. *Le Vaisseau des Morts;* histoire d'un marin Américain. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1954. 276 pp. Trans. from German by Philippe Jacottet.
(Cf. No. 38 above.)

44. *Das Totenschiff.* London: Barmerlea Book Sales, Ltd., 1954; Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag and Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1954. 212 pp.
(Publication announced October, 1954. RoRoRo 126. A "cheap" edition.)

DER SCHATZ DER SIERRA MADRE. [*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.*]

45. *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1927. 216 pp. Trans. from English by Curt Reibetantz.
(Published second quarter, 1927. Designated as *Erzählung* rather than *Roman.* In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed sales in Germany as 40,000.)

46. *Klad Sierry-Madre.* (Клад Сиерры-Мадре.) Leningrad: "Red Newspaper" (Krasnaîa Gazeta), 1928. 200 pp. Trans. from German by E. Budovnits.
(A printing of 50,000 copies; illustrated. See *Knizhnaia Letopis'*, No. 42, October 19, 1928, p. 3039.)

47. *Prokliat'e Zolota.* (Проклятье золота.) [*The Curse of the Gold.*] Kharkov: "Proletarii," 1928. 190 pp. Trans. from German by V. Volynsky.
(See *Knizhnaia Letopis'*, No. 27, July 6, 1928, p. xxviii.)

48. *Sierra Madres Skatt.* Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1929. 276 pp. Trans. from German by Eugen Alban.
(Announced in *Svensk Bokförteckning*, October, 1929, p. 121.)

49. *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1930. 213 pp.

50. ———. Berlin: Buchmeister Verlag, [1930]. 279 pp.
(Here designated *Roman.*)

51. ———. [1932]. 279 pp.

52. *Aranyásók.* [*The Gold-Digger.*] Budapest: Pantheon, [1932?]. 272 pp. Trans. from German by Ottó Salgó.

53. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1934. 269 pp. Trans. from German by Basil Creighton.
(Publication announced September, 1934.)

54. *Skarb w Sierra Madre.* Warsaw: The Polish Society of the Friends of the Book (Polskie Tow. Przyjációł Książki), [1934]. 272 pp. Trans. from German by Witold Bełza.

55. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935. 366 pp.
(Publication announced June 10, 1935. This is an English language version by Traven and not a translation from German. By July, 1938, sales had amounted to 2,692.)

56. ———. 1935. 2nd printing.
(August, 1935.)

57. ———. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1935. 366 pp.

58. *Gull;* en gullgraverroman fra Mexico. [*Gold.*] Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1935. 248 pp. Trans. from German by Helge Krog.

59. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1936. 296 pp. Trans. from German by Basil Creighton.
(Publication announced March, 1936. Cf. No. 53 above; a new edition.)

60. *Le Trésor de la Sierra Madre.* Lausanne: Guilde du Livre, [1936]. 256 pp. Trans. from German by Henri Bonifas.

61. *Sokrovishcha S'erry Madre.* (Сокровища Сиерры Мадре.) Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1937. 286 pp. Trans. from German by G. S. Chernyavsky.
(A printing of 10,000 copies. See *Knizhnaia Letopis'*, XXXI, Pt. 6, No. 37105.)

62. *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.* Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1942. 269 pp.
(A new edition.)

63. *Tesoro en la Sierra Madre.* México, D. F.: Ediciones Estela, 1946. 289 pp. Trans. by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Publication announced April 15, 1946.)

64. ———. Mexico, D. F.: R. Mestre, 1946.

65. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1947. 366 pp.

66. ———. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1947. 366 pp.
(Publication announced April, 1947.)

67. *Kultahiekka Valuu.* [*Golden Sands Flow.*] Helsinki: Tammi, 1948. 296 pp. Trans. from English by Pekka Häkli.

68. *Il Tesoro della Sierra Madre.* Milan: Longanesi, 1948. Trans. from English by Teresa Pintacuda.
(Designated *Romanzo.*)

69. *De Schat in de Sierra Madre.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1948. 312 pp. Trans. from English by Hidde Heringa.
(Arbo-serie.)

70. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1948. 329 pp.
(Published March, 1948. The same English language version as published by Knopf; see No. 55 above. Total sale was about 410,000 copies, with three printings in the United States and one in Canada.)

71. ———. London: Jonathan Cape, 1948. 263 pp. Trans. from German by Basil Creighton.
(Reprint of Nos. 53 and 59 above; publication announced August, 1948.)

72. *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.* Berlin: Universitas Verlag, [1949]. 283 pp.
(A new edition.)

73. ———; ein Goldgräberroman. Vienna: Wiener Volksbuchverlag, 1950. 208 pp.

74. *Tre Mand Søger Guld.* [*Three Men Seek Gold.*] Copenhagen: Fremad, 1949. 264 pp. Trans. from German by Marcus Laveson.

75. *Oṣar Ha-Sierra Madre.* Jaffa: Ha-Sifriya Ha-qtana, 1949. 149 pp. Trans. from German by Eliezer Karmi.

76. *Poklad na Sierra Madre.* Prague: Melantrich, 1950. 311 pp. 2nd edition. Trans. from German by Rudolf Vápeník and Valter Feldštein.
(A printing of 10,000 copies. I have no record of the 1st edition.)

77. ———. 1951. 223 pp. 3rd edition; 1952. 4th edition; Č. Těšín, 1956. 338 pp. 5th edition.
(3rd edition: a printing of 31,500 copies; 4th edition: a printing of 70,400 copies; 5th edition: a printing of 30,000 copies.)

78. *El Tesoro de la Sierra Madre.* México, D. F.: Compañia General de Ediciones, [1950]. 381 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Published September 30, 1950. A printing of 3,150 copies. Colección Ideas, Letras y Vida.)

79. *Skatten i Sierra Madre.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1950. 250 pp. Trans. from English by Helge Krog.
(Cf. No. 58 above; apparently a reprint.)

80. *Le Trésor de la Sierra Madre.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1951. 285 pp. Trans. from German by Henri Bonifas.
("Pourpre" Collection.)

81. ———. Bruxelles: Le Club du Livre du Mois, 1952. 287 pp. Trans. from German by Henri Bonifas.

82. *Blago Sijera Madre.* Beograd (Belgrade): "New Generation" (Novo Pokolênje), 1952. Trans. from German by Jovan Popović.
(Serbo-Croatian. A printing of 12,000 copies.)

83. *Skatten i Sierra Madre.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1953. 255 pp. Trans. from English by Helge Krog.
(Tiden's Book Club; cf. No. 79 above.)

84. *Sierra Madres Skatt.* Stockholm: Folket i Bild, 1953. 287 pp. Trans. from German.

85. *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.* Frankfurt: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1954. 288 pp. Trans. from English by Bruno Skibbe.

86. *Ôgon.* [*Gold.*] Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, [1954?]. 266 pp. Trans. from English by Masaki Yamamoto.

87. *Le Trésor de la Sierra Madre.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy, [1955?]. 254 pp. Trans. from German by Henri Bonifas and Charles Baudouin.
(Cf. No. 80 above.)

88. *Zaklàd Sierra Madre.* Ljubljana: "Books for Young People" (Mladin-

ska Knjiga), 1955. 212 pp. Trans. from German by Severin Šqli. (Slovene.)

89. *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.* Berlin: Universitas-Verlag, 1956. 283 pp.

Der Busch. [*The Bush.*]

90. *Der Busch.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1928. 176 pp.
(Published second quarter, 1928. Designated as *Erzählungen.* In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed sales in Germany as 20,000.)

91. ———. 1929. 224 pp.
(Also dated 1930; apparently same edition. Designated as *Erweiterte Ausgabe.* Contains following short stories: "Die Auferweckung eines Toten," "Indianertanz im Dschungel," "Die Geburt eines Gottes," "Der aufgefangene Blitz," "Spiessgesellen," "Die Geschichte einer Bombe," "Die Dynamitpatrone," "Die Wohlfahrtseinrichtung," "Der Wachtposten," "Der ausgewanderte Antonio," "Familienehre," "Ein Hundegeschäft," "Der Eselskauf," "Diplomaten," "Bändigung," "Der Grossindustrielle," "Die Medizin," "Der Banditendoktor," "Indianerbekehrung," and "Der Nachtbesuch im Busch.")

92. *Urskog.* [*Forest Primeval.*] Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1932. 146 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.
(Announced in *Svensk Bokförteckning,* October, 1932, p. 143. Contents: "Uppväckandet av en död," "Indiandans i urskogen," "En guds födelse," "Historien om en bomb," "Dynamitpatronen," "Sjukhuset," "Vaktposten," "Familjeära," "Åsneköpet," "En hundaffär," "Medicinen," and "Ett nattligt besök.")

93. *Bawelna i Krew.* [*Cotton and Blood.*] Warsaw: The Polish Society of the Friends of the Book (Polskie Tow. Przyjációł Książki), [1934]. 295 pp. Trans. from German by Josef Zang.

94. *Džungle.* Prague: "People's Culture" (Lidová Kultura), 1938. 154 pp. Trans. from German by Věra Petříková.

95. *Una Canasta de Cuentos Mexicanos.* [*A Basket of Mexican Stories.*] México, D. F.: Editorial Alas, 1946. Trans. from German by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Published May 25, 1946. Contents: "La canasta," "No hay burro que se regale," "San Antonio le falló," "Un negocio malísimo," "Una solución inesperada," "Alma de perro," "Una medicina muy efectiva," "La historia de una bomba," "Ceremonia ligeramente retardada," and "Así nació un nuevo dios.")

96. *Priče iz Meksika.* [*Tales from Mexico.*] Beograd (Belgrade): "New Generation" (Novo Pokolenje), 1954. Trans. from German by Stevan J. Milović.
(Serbo-Croatian.)

97. *Der Banditendoktor.* London: Barmerlea Book Sales, Ltd., 1955; Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1955. 215 pp.
(Publication announced April, 1955. Fischer-Bücher 80.)

LAND DES FRÜHLINGS. [*The Land of the Springs.*]

98. *Land des Frühlings;* Streifzüge durch das unbekannte Mexiko. Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1928. 430 pp. Trans. from English by Curt Reibetantz.
(A general study, or *Reisebuch,* of Mexico, particularly of the state of Chiapas; with one map and sixty-four plates. In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed sales in Germany as 30,000.)

99. ———. Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1936.

100. ———. 1950. 344 pp.
(Also sold by Barmerlea Book Sales, Ltd.)

DIE BAUMWOLLPFLÜCKER. [*The Cotton-Pickers.*]

101. *Der Wobbly.* [*The Wobbly.*] Berlin and Leipzig: Buchmeister Verlag, 1926. 184 pp.
(Published fourth quarter, 1926. The first version, and apparently the same as that serialized in an unidentified Berlin newspaper some months previous, and title of *Die Baumwollpflücker.* "Wobbly" refers to a member of the I. W. W., Industrial Workers of the World.)

102. *Die Baumwollpflücker.* Berlin and Leipzig: Buchmeister Verlag, 1929. 184 pp.
(In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed sales in Germany as 25,000.)

103. ———. 1930. 184 pp.

104. *Bomullsplockarna.* Stockholm: Axel Holmström, [1930]. 241 pp. Trans. by Eugen Albàn.
(Announced in *Svensk Bokförteckning,* April, 1930, p. 32.)

105. *De Katoenplukkers.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1931. 204 pp. "Authorized translation" from German by L. J. van Looi.
(Also dated 1932; appendix of the weekly paper, *Notenkraker.* Author referred to as Ben Traven.)

106. *Die Baumwollpflücker.* Berlin: Universitas Deutsche Verlags, 1931. 279 pp.

107. *Jeg er en Vagabond.* [*I am a Vagabond.*] Oslo: Fram, 1932. 191 pp. Trans. from German by Helga Evang.
(The poem, "De Meksikanske bomuldsplukkeres sang," i.e., "The Mexican cotton-pickers' song," was translated by Arnulf Øverland.)

108. *Kokvilnas Plūcēji.* Riga: Atis Freinats, 1933. 168 pp. Trans. from German by Emīls Skujenieks.
(Illustrated by Oskars Noritis.)

109. *A Gyapotszedök.* Budapest: Pantheon, [1934]. 256 pp. Trans. from German by László Dormándi.
("Good Books" [Jó Könyvek], No. 12.)

110. *Die Baumwollpflücker.* Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1945. 194 pp.

111. ———. Berlin: Universitas-Verlag, 1950. 277 pp.

112. *Bomullsplukkerne.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1951. 191 pp. Trans. from German by Helga Evang.
(A reprint of No. 107 above.)

113. *Berači Pamuka.* Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1951. 222 pp. Trans. from German by Jovan Popović.
(Serbo-Croatian. A printing of 5,000 copies.)

114. ———. 1952. 207 pp. 2nd edition.
(A printing of 5,000 copies.)

115. *Obiralci Bombaža.* Maribor: Obzorja, 1951. 172 pp. Trans. from German by Zora Tavčar.
(Slovene. A printing of 3,000 copies. With a glossary of words and expressions and a short note on the author by B. Rudolf.)

116. *Bomuldsplukkerne.* Copenhagen: Wangel, 1954. 238 pp. Trans. by Georg Gjedde.

117. *The Cotton-Pickers.* London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1956. 190 pp. Trans. from German by Eleanor Brockett.
(Publication announced September 12, 1956.)

Die Brücke im Dschungel. [*The Bridge in the Jungle.*]

118. *Die Brücke im Dschungel.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1929. 192 pp.
(Published second quarter, 1929. In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed sales in Germany as 25,000.)

119. *Most w Dżungli.* Warsaw: The Polish Society of the Friends of the Book (Polskie Tow. Przyjációł Książki), [1933]. 239 pp. Trans. from German by Witold Bełza.

120. *Bron i Djungeln.* Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1938. 142 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.

121. *Broen i Jungelen.* Copenhagen: Fremad, 1936. 152 pp. Trans. from German by H. C. Hansen.
(Illustrated by Anton Hansen.)

122. *Broen i Jungelen.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1937. 157 pp. Trans. from German by Helge Krog.

123. *The Bridge in the Jungle.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938. 285 pp.
(Published July 18, 1938. This is an English language version by Traven and not a translation from German.)

124. ———. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938. 286 pp.

125. ———. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1940.

126. ———. London: Jonathan Cape, 1940. 267 pp.
(Publication announced March, 1940. Second and last volume of a projected "collected edition"; cf. No. 24 above.)

127. *Puente en la Selva.* México, D. F.: A. P. Marquez, [1941]. 353 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Colección Esperanza.)

128. *Il Ponte nella Giungla.* Milan: Longanesi, [1946]. 290 pp. Trans. from English by Teresa Pintacuda Pieraccini.
(La Gaja Scièǹza, new series, vol. 9.)

129. *Puente en la Selva.* Mexico, D. F.: Compañia General de Ediciones, 1950. 275 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Published January 17, 1950. Colección Ideas, Letras y Vida.)

130. *Il Ponte nella Giungla.* Milan: Longanesi, 1952. 244 pp. Trans. from English by Teresa Pintacuda Pieraccini.
(Possibly new edition of No. 128 above.)

131. *Most v Džungli.* Prague: Č. Těšín, 1957. 181 pp. Trans. from German by Rudolf Vápenik.
("Readers' Club" (Klub Ctenaru), No. 63. A printing of 80,000 copies. With notes.)

Die Weisse Rose. [*The White Rose.*]

132. *Die Weisse Rose.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1929. 208 pp. Trans. from English by Rudolf Dörwald.
(Published fourth quarter, 1929. In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed sales in Germany as 40,000.)

133. *Vita Rosen.* Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1930. 286 pp. Trans. from German by Eugen Albàn.
(Announced in *Svensk Bokförteckning*, October, 1930.)

134. *Die Weisse Rose.* Berlin: Buchmeister Verlag, [1931]. 288 pp.

135. *De Witte Roos.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1932. 272 pp. "Authorized translation" from German by Nico Rost.
(Author referred to as Ben Traven.)

136. *"Rosa Blanca."* [Paris]: E. Flammarion, [1932]. 284 pp. Trans. from German by Charles Burghard.

137. *Haš-Šōšannā Hal-Lebānā.* Berlin: No publ., [1932]. 258 pp. Trans. from German by Efrajim Brwjd' [Broido].

138. *Biała Róża.* Warsaw: The Polish Society of the Friends of the Book (Polskie Tow. Przyjációł Książki, [1933]. 288 pp. Trans. from German by Witold Bełza.

139. *Den Hvide Rose.* Copenhagen: Fremad, 1933. 254 pp. Trans. from German by Hans Kirk.

140. ———. 1934. 2nd edition.

141. *A Fehér Rózsa.* [Budapest]: Pantheon, 1935. 256 pp. Trans. from German by László Dormándi.
("Good Books" [Jó Könyvek], No. 17.)

142. *Bílá Růže.* Prague: Kruh, 1936. 283 pp. Trans. from German by Ivan Olbracht.

143. *Den Hvite Rose.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1936. 288 pp. Trans. from German by Helge Krog.

144. *La Rosa Blanca.* México, D. F.: Editorial "Cima," [1940]. 374 pp. Trans. from German by Pedro Geoffroy and Lia Kostakowsky.

145. *Die Weisse Rose.* Tenafly, N. J.: H. Fel. Kraus, 1946. 206 pp.

146. *Biela Ruža.* Bratislava: Práca, 1948. 180 pp. Trans. from German by I. J. Lovačevič.
(Slovak.)

147. *Ha-Šošana Ha-L'vana.* Tel-Aviv: N. Tverski, 1948. 234 pp. 2nd edition. Trans. from German by Efraim Broido.
(Cf. No. 137 above.)

148. *Den Hvite Rose.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1950. 208 pp. Trans. from German by Helge Krog.
(Possibly new edition of No. 143 above.)

149. *La Rosa Blanca.* México, D. F.: Compañia General de Ediciones, 1951. 446 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Published September 16, 1951. A printing of 3,000 copies.)

150. *Bela Ruža.* Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1952. 213 pp. Trans. from German by Jovan Popović.
(Serbo-Croatian. A printing of 10,000 copies.)

151. *La Rosa Bianca.* Milan: Longanesi, 1953. 273 pp. Trans. from German by Gilberto Forti.

152. *Bela Roža.* Ljubljana: Prešernova Družba, [1953]. 230 pp. Trans. from German by Janko Liška.
(Slovene.)

DER KARREN. [*The Cart.*]

153. *Der Karren.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1930. 240 pp.
(Published fourth quarter, 1930; possibly dated 1931. The publishers claimed a sale of 55,000 within a few weeks after publication. In 1932, *D. L. K.* listed the sales in Germany as 60,000.)

154. ———. 1931. 239 pp.

155. ———. Berlin: Buchmeister Verlag, [1932]. 319 pp.
(*Die Literatur* dates it 1931.)

156. ———. Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1932.

157. *Kärran.* Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1934. 288 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.

158. *W Jarzmie.* [*In the Yoke.*] Warsaw: The Polish Society of the Friends of the Book (Polskie Tow. Przyjaciół Książki), [1934]. 168 pp. Trans. from German by Leo Belmont.

159. ———. [1934]. 171 pp. 2nd edition.

160. *Kaerren.* Copenhagen: Fremad, 1934. 239 pp. Trans. from German by H. C. Hansen.

161. ———. *Ibid.* 2nd edition.

162. *De Ossenkar.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1935. 260 pp. Trans. from German by P. Voogd.
(With one plate.)

163. *The Carreta.* London: Chatto & Windus, [1935]. 314 pp. Trans. from German by Basil Creighton.
(Publication announced April, 1935.)

164. *Kjerren.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1935. 301 pp. Trans. from German by Hans Heiberg.

165. *The Carreta.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1936. 314 pp. Trans. from German by Basil Creighton.
(The "cheap edition"; cf. No. 163 above.)

166. *A Taliga.* [*The Wheelbarrow.*] Budapest: Pantheon, [1937]. 276 pp. Trans. from German by Istvan Szegö.

167. ———. [1949]. 251 pp. 3rd edition.
(I can find no record of the 2nd edition.)

168. *Meksikanskaia Arba.* (Мексиканская арба.) Leningrad: Art Literature (Khudozhestvennaĭa Literatura), 1937. 356 pp. Trans. from German by M. M. Dobranitsky.
(A printing of 5,300 copies. See *Knizhnaia Letopis'*, XXXI, Pt. 4, No. 24815.)

169. *Carreta.* Prague: V. Škubal, 1946. 265 pp. Trans. from German by Jiřina Vaněčková.

170. *La Carreta.* Milan: Longanesi, [1948]. 389 pp. Trans. from German by Carlo Picchio.
(La Gaja Scienza, Vol. 30.)

171. *Jarmark Swietego Caralampio.* [*The Fair of St. Tzaralampio.*] Warsaw: "Book and Knowledge" (Książka i Wiedza), 1949. 174 pp. Trans. from German by Leo Belmont.
(Cf. No. 158 above.)

172. ———. *Ibid.* 155 pp.
(Apparently another edition.)

173. *La Carreta.* México, D. F.: Compañia General de Ediciones, [1949]. 332 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Published November 25, 1949. Colección Ideas, Letras y Vida.)

174. *Kola.* Zagreb: Mladost, 1951. 196 pp. Trans. from German by Ivan Brabec and Marinka Brujić.
(Serbo-Croatian. A printing of 8,000 copies.)

175. *Die Carreta.* Berlin: Universitas Verlag, 1953. 299 pp.

176. *La Charrette.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1955. 290 pp. Trans. from Spanish by Mathilde Camhi.
("La Tulipe Noire" Collection.)

REGIERUNG. [*Government.*]

177. *Regierung.* Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1931. 256 pp.
(Published fourth quarter, 1931.)

178. ———. Berlin: Buchmeister Verlag, 1931. 350 pp.

179. ———. [1933]. 350 pp.
(Apparently a reprint.)

180. ———. Zürich: Europa Verlag, [1933]. 350 pp.

181. *Regeering.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1934. 339 pp. Trans. from German by T. de Jong.

182. *Regering.* Copenhagen: Fremad, 1935. 261 pp. Trans. from German by H. C. Hansen.
(The Workers' Educational Association "Bogkreds.")

183. ———. 1936. 2nd edition.

184. *Government.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1935. 355 pp. Trans. from German by Basil Creighton.
(Publication announced October, 1935.)

185. ———. Toronto: Macmillan, 1935. 355 pp.

186. *Diktatur.* [*Dictatorship.*] Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1935. 334 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.

187. *Diktatur.* Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1938. 223 pp. Trans. from German by Hakon Evang.

188. ———. 180 pp. 2nd edition.

189. *Speroni nella Polvere.* [*Spurs in the Dust.*] Milan: Longanesi, 1951. 347 pp. Trans. from German by Henry Furst and Orsola Nemi.

190. *Gobierno.* México, D. F.: Cía General de Ediciones, [1951]. 268 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Colección Ideas, Letras y Vida.)

191. *Vlastodrsci.* [*The Holders of Power.*] Zagreb: "Voice of Labor" (Glas Rada), 1953. 267 pp. Trans. from German by Zlatko Gorjan.
(Serbo-Croatian.)

DER MARSCH INS REICH DER CAOBA. [*The March in the Mahogany Kingdom.*]

192. *Der Marsch ins Reich der Caoba;* ein Kriegsmarsch. Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, [1933]. 254 pp.
(Published third quarter, 1933.)

193. *Marschen Till Caobans Rike;* en Krigsmarsch. Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1936. 336 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.

194. *Rabszolgák Útja.* [*The Route of the Slaves.*] Budapest: Cultural Society of Book Friends (M. Könyvbarátok Kultúregyesülete), 1949. 229 pp. Trans. from German by Imre Keszi.

195. *Caoba.* Hamburg: Krüger, [1950]. 345 pp.

DIE REBELLION DER GEHENKTEN. [*The Rebellion of the Hanged.*]

196. *Die Rebellion der Gehenkten.* Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1936. 264 pp.
(Published April, 1936, ten years to the day when the Guild published its first book by Traven. Cf. No. 1 above.)

197. *Vzpoura Pověšencú.* Prague: "People's Culture" (Lidová Kultura), 1937. 358 pp. Trans. from German by Věra Petříková and Helena Matoušková.
(People's Library [Lidová Knihovna], No. 2.)

198. *Modesta.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1938. 308 pp. Trans. from German by P. Voogd.
(Arbo-Roman Serie.)

199. *La Revolte des Pendus.* Paris: P. Tisné, 1938. 320 pp. Trans. from German by A. Lehmann.
(Editions Corréa.)

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(With an introduction by translator on Traven. See No. 336 in Section V. B. below.)

201. *De Hängdas Revolution.* Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1938. 376 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.

202. *Vosstanie Poveshennykh.* (Восстание повешенных.) Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1938. 332 pp. Trans. from German by E. M. Zaks.

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203. ———. Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1938. 304 pp. Trans. from German by M. Svetlov and A. Sapozhnikova.
(With an article by Friedrich Engels added thereto.)

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205. ———. Montevideo: Editora Elite, 1943. 272 pp. Trans. from German by Pedro Geoffroy Rivas.

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(Slovak.)

207. *Die Rebellion der Gehenkten.* Hamburg: Europäische Verlag, [1950]. 340 pp.

208. *La Rebelión de los Colgados.* México, D. F.: No publ., 1950. 275 pp. Trans. from English by Esperanza López Mateos.

209. *The Rebellion of the Hanged.* London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1952. 304 pp. Trans. from German by Charles Duff.
(Publication announced January 24, 1952.)

210. ———. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. 377 pp.
(Published April 18, 1952. This is an English language version by Traven and not a translation from German.)

211. ———. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1952. 377 pp.

212. *I Rebelli.* Milan: Longanesi, 1952. 437 pp. Trans. from German by Ruggiero Sandanieli.

213. *Pobuna Vešanih.* Beograd (Belgrade): Duga, 1952. 231 pp. Trans. from English by Stevan Milović.
(Serbo-Croatian. A printing of 5,000 copies.)

214. *De Hängdas Revolution.* Stockholm: Tiden, 1954. 380 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.
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215. *La Révolte des Pendus.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1955. 296 pp. Trans. by Albert Lehmann.
("La Tulipe Noire" Collection.)

SONNEN-SCHÖPFUNG. [*Creation of the Sun;* an Indian Legend.]

216. *O Člověku Který Stvořil Slunce.* [*About the Man Who Created the Sun.*] Prague: F. J. Müller, 1934. Trans. by Vincenc Svoboda.

(Long Live Young People [Živé Mládi], No. 1. There seems to be an earlier German version but I have not found it.)

217. *Sonnen-Schöpfung;* Indianische Legende. Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, [1936?]. 80 pp.
(A novelette.)

Die Troza. [*The "Troza."*]

218. *Die Troza.* Zurich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1936. 255 pp.
("Troza" is Spanish for a log; a tree trunk to be sawn into boards.)

219. *Mahoniehout;* Dictatuur in de Wildernis. [*Mahogany;* dictatorship in the wilderness.] Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1937. 284 pp. Trans. from German by P. Voogd.
(Arbo-Roman serie.)

220. *Djungelnatt.* [*The Jungle Night.*] Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1937. 301 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.

221. *Vřísi Mahagonu.* [*The Mahogany Cutters.*] Prague: Práce, 1955. 190 pp. Trans. from German by Rudolf Vápenik.
(New Novels [Románové Novinky], No. 101. A printing of 30,400 copies.)

Ein General Kommt aus dem Dschungel. [*The General from the Jungle.*]

222. *Djungelgeneralen.* [*The Jungle General.*] Stockholm: Axel Holmström, 1939. 365 pp. Trans. from German by Arne Holmström.
(I have not been able to locate the indicated earlier German version. Of course, the novel could have been in MS in German and published first in Swedish.)

223. *Ein General Kommt aus dem Dschungel.* Amsterdam: A. de Lange, 1940. 415 pp.
(Published in German in the Netherlands; but "gedruckt [1939?] bei Hungaria buchdruckerei AG, Budapest." It must have been distributed before the Nazi invasion on May 10, 1940.)

224. ———. Amsterdam: A. de Lange, 1950; Berlin: Kiepenheuer, 1950. 354 pp. 2nd edition.

225. *General iz Džungle.* Zagreb: "Peasants Unity" (Seljačka Sloga), 1953. 228 pp. Trans. from German by Vlatko Saric.
(Serbo-Croatian.)

226. *The General from the Jungle.* London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1954. 256 pp. Trans. from German by Desmond I. Vesey.
(Publication announced April 28, 1954.)

227. *General iz Džungel.* Beograd (Belgrade): "New Generation" (Novo Pokolênje), [1954?]. 308 pp. Trans. from German by Stevan J. Milović.

228. *Jungelgeneralen.* Copenhagen: Hassing, [1956]. Trans. from German by Helga Vang Lauridsen.

MACARIO. [*Macario;* or, The Healer.]

229. *Macario.* Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1950. 84 pp. Trans. from English by Hans Kauders.
(A novelette; illustrated. A printing of 8,000 copies. Copyrighted by Esperanza López Mateos and Josef Wieder, Traven's literary agent. This seems to be Traven's last published work.)

II. Books: Miscellaneous.

230. "Ein Azteken-Duell." In *Das Grosse Abenteuerbuch.* Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1929. Pp. 149-180.
(The first seventy-five pages, with many revisions and excisions, of the novel *Die Baumwollpflücker.*)

231. *Karrenreise durch die Sierra Madre.* Berlin: Volk v. Wissen, 1946. 32 pp.
(Volk v. Wissen Sammelbücherei, Gr. 1, Serie G, 1; extract from the novel *Der Karren;* with map.)

232. ———. Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1950. 32 pp. 2nd edition.
(Unsere Welt G. 1.)

233. *Öl und Land.* Göttingen: Öffentlich Leben, 1947. 30 pp.
(Extract from the novel *Die Weisse Rose.*)

234. "Die Geschichte eines Amerikanischen Seemanns." In Wolfgang Paulsen, ed. *Vagabunden;* three modern German stories. New York: Henry Holt, 1950.
(These stories were "selected and edited for early use.")

235. *Il Meglio.* Milan: Longanesi, 1954. 820 pp. Trans. from English and German by Teresa Pintacuda and Gilberto Forti.
(The collection includes translations of *The Death Ship* and *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and of "Ein Hundegeschäft," "Der Eselkauf," and "Die Medizin" from *Der Busch.*)

III. Film Scenarios.

236. *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* Screenplay by John Huston. Film produced by Warner Brothers. Released January 24, 1948.
(Directed by John Huston. Cast: Humphrey Bogart, Walter Huston, Tim Holt, Bruce Bennett, Barton MacLane, and Alfonso Bedoya.)

237. *Blago Siera Madre.* Beograd (Belgrade): Sportska Knjiga, 1953. 32 pp.
(Serbo-Croatian. Apparently a condensation of the Huston script; illustrated.)

IV. Contributions to Periodicals. A. Stories and Articles.

238. "Mein Roman 'Das Totenschiff.' " *Büchergilde,* March, 1926; reprinted in *Bücher voll Guten Geistes;* 30 Jahre Büchergilde Gutenberg. Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1954. Pp. 60-61, 64-65.
(Essay. *Büchergilde* is the monthly house organ of Büchergilde Gutenberg.)

239. "Im Tropischen Busch." *Westermanns Monatshefte,* LXX (July, 1926), 525-536.
(Short story; the by-line includes, "Tamaulipas, Mexico." Collected, with minor revisions, as "Der Nachtbesuch im Busch" in *Der Busch.*)

240. "Der Bungalow." *Büchergilde,* February, 1928.
(Article; autobiographical account of his writing a novel in the Mexican jungle.)

241. "Dichter und Leser." *Büchergilde,* September, 1934, No. 9, pp. 144-147.
(Essay; some observations on writing and publishing.)

242. "Nacht auf der Prärie." *Büchergilde,* April, 1936, No. 4, pp. 66-67.
(Short story. This issue is entitled "10 Jahre Traven.")

243. "Die Seltenheit der Muschel-Halsketten und deren Wert." *Büchergilde,* April, 1936, No. 4, pp. 68-69.
(A letter from Traven to the Guild.)

244. "A Legend of Huehuetonoc." *California Quarterly,* I (1952), 56-63. Trans. from Spanish by Esperanza López Mateos.
(Translation of "La Canasta"; see No. 95 above.)

IV. B. Serializations.

245. "Zaklad Sierre Madre." *Slovenski Jadran,* I (March 18, 1952), 16–; (September 26, 1952), 39–; (October 10, 1952), 41–; (October 24, 1952), 43–; (November 11, 1952), 45–; (November 21, 1952), 47–; (November 28, 1952), 48–; (December 12, 1952), 50–; (December 26, 1952), 52–; II (January 1, 1953), 1–; and (March 6, 1953), 10–. Trans. from German.
(Slovene. Cf. No. 88 above. See *Slovenska Bibliografija za Leto,* VI [1952], 250-251, No. 4297a; VII [1953], 289.)

246. "Bela Roža." *Obzornik* (1953), No. 1, pp. 11-23; No. 2, pp. 48-57; No. 3, pp. 94-101; No. 4, pp. 145-153; No. 5, pp. 193-201; No. 6, pp. 228-236; No. 7, pp. 269-275; No. 8, pp. 309-315; and Nos. 9-10, pp. 350-363. Trans. from German by Janko Liška.
(Slovene; illustrated. Cf. No. 152 above. See *Slovenska Bibliografija,* VII [1953], 289, No. 3906.)

V. Critical Estimates of B. Traven. A. Reviews in English of the Novels.

The Death Ship.

247. James Hanley. "Sugi-Mugi." *The Spectator*, CLII (January 26, 1934), 131.
("Sugi-mugi," a scoffing term from Conrad, denotes men who wash paint.)

248. H. M. Tomlinson. "The Death Ships." *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, XXX (January 26, 1934), 75.

249. C. E. Bechhofer Roberts. "Some New Novels." *The New English Weekly*, IV (February 1, 1934), 379.
(A strongly pejorative estimate.)

250. Florida Pier. "New Fiction." *Time and Tide*, XV (February 3, 1934), 148-149.
(Unfavorable.)

251. "Fiction." *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 15, 1934, p. 109.

252. Wynyard Browne. "Fiction." *The London Mercury*, XXIX (March, 1934), 462-463.

253. Hamish Maclaren. "The Fortnightly Library." *The Fortnightly Review*, CXLI, N.S. CXXXV (March, 1934), 383.

254. "Books of the Week. Fiction." *Time*, XXIII (April 23, 1934), 80.
(Short notice.)

255. "Also Out this Week. Fiction." *The New Yorker*, X (April 28, 1934), 102.
(Short notice.)

256. P. E. G. Quercus. "Trade Winds." *Saturday Review of Literature*, X (April 28, 1934), 671.

257. "A Seaman's Story." *The New York Times Book Review*, April 29, 1934, p. 21.

258. William Doerflinger. "Hell Afloat." *Saturday Review of Literature*, X (May 5, 1934), 677.

259. "Worth Reading." *The Literary Digest*, CXVII (May 12, 1934), 30.
(Short notice.)

260. Lincoln Colcord. "A Powerful Book, Unfettered, Wild." *The New York Herald Tribune Books*, May 13, 1934, p. 5.

261. Mark Van Doren. "Men without Countries." *The Nation*, CXXXVIII (May 16, 1934), 569-570.

262. Arthur Heller. "A Great Unknown." *New Masses*, XI (June 12, 1934), 24.

263. John Mair. "New Novels." *The New Statesman and Nation*, XIX (March 9, 1940), 338, 340.
(Reviews *The Bridge in the Jungle* also.)

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.

264. J. Malthaner. "Books in German Fiction." *Books Abroad*, VII (January, 1933), 76.
(A review of *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre.*)
265. V. S. Pritchett. "New Novels." *The New Statesman and Nation*, N.S. VIII (September 8, 1934), 296.
266. John Beevers. "All Abroad." *Time and Tide*, XV (September 15, 1934), 1144.
267. William Plomer. "Fiction." *The Spectator*, CLIII (September 28, 1934), 454.
268. S. W. "Mexican Adventure." *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, XXXI (October 5, 1934), 275.
269. V. S. Pritchett. "The Fortnightly Library." *The Fortnightly Review*, CXLII, N.S. CXXXVI (November, 1934), 639.
270. Horace Gregory. "In the Mexican Mountains." *The New York Herald Tribune Books*, June 9, 1935, p. 5.
271. Fred T. Marsh. " 'The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.' " *The New York Times Book Review*, June 9, 1935, p. 6.
272. Clifton Fadiman. "The Great Traven Mystery." *The New Yorker*, XI (June 15, 1935), 66-67.
(Fadiman does not do much to clarify it.)
273. "Worth Reading." *The Literary Digest*, CXIX (June 15, 1935), 29.
(Short notice.)
274. "Adventure, Unglossed." *Time*, XXV (June 17, 1935), 74, 76.
275. Robert B. Macdougall. "An Ironic Story of the Greed for Gold." *The Saturday Review of Literature*, XII (June 22, 1935), 14.
276. Granville Hicks. "Proletarian Mystery." *New Masses*, XVI (July 16, 1935), 23.
277. William Troy. "Radix Malorum." *The Nation*, CXLI (July 17, 1935), 79-80.
(Important information on Traven's sales in Europe.)
278. Clyde O. Hunter. "Winner Lose All." *The New Republic*, LXXXIII (July 31, 1935), 342.

279. John Chamberlain. "The World in Books." *Current History,* XLII (August, 1935), xii.

280. M. H. "Books in Various Languages." *Books Abroad,* X (Winter, 1936), 101.

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281. "Central American Anecdote." *Time,* XXXII (July 18, 1938), 50-51.

282. "Briefly Noted. Fiction." *The New Yorker,* XIV (July 23, 1938), 59-60.

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(A considered review.)

284. Otis Ferguson. "Action Stuff." *The New Republic,* XCV (July 27, 1938), 341.

285. Grace Flandrau. "A Drama of Simple People." *The Saturday Review of Literature,* XVIII (July 30, 1938), 6.

286. Lawrence Clark Powell. "Who Is B. Traven?" *New Masses,* XXVIII (August 2, 1938), 22-23.
(See No. 338 in Section V, B. below.)

287. Helen Neville. "The Noble Savage." *The Nation,* CXLVII (August 6, 1938), 133-134.

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291. "Uncivilization." *The Times Literary Supplement,* XXXIX (March 2, 1940), 109.

292. John Mair. "New Novels." *The New Statesman and Nation,* XIX (March 9, 1940), 340.

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294. "A Choice of Ten Good Entertainments. . . ." *The Times Literary Supplement,* March 16, 1940, vii.
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295. John Marks. "New Novels." *The Spectator,* CLXIV (March 22, 1940), 424.

The White Rose.

296. *The Bookman* (London), LXXX (1931), 162.
(Review of *Die Weisse Rose.*)
297. "The Once Over." *Books Abroad*, VI (January, 1932), 102.
(Notice of *Die Weisse Rose.*)
298. R. T. H. "Books in German. Fiction." *Books Abroad*, VI (April, 1932), 238.
(Short review.)
299. M. H. "Books in Spanish. Fiction." *Books Abroad*, XV (Summer, 1941), 336-337.
(Review of *La Rosa Blanca.*)

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300. C. E. Bechhofer Roberts. "New Fiction." *Time and Tide*, XVI (April 20, 1935), 593.
301. William Plomer. "Fiction." *The Spectator*, CLIV (April 26, 1935), 706.
302. Cyril Connolly. "New Novels." *The New Statesman and Nation*, N.S. IX (April 27, 1935), 594.
303. "Other New Books." *The Times Literary Supplement*, May 2, 1935, p. 289.
304. Osbert Burdett. "Fiction." *The English Review*, LX (June, 1935), 755-756.
305. "Reviews." *The New English Weekly*, VII (June 20, 1935), 197-198.

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306. Ralph Bates. "New Fiction." *Time and Tide*, XVI (November 9, 1935), 1628.
307. "Other New Books. Fiction." *The Times Literary Supplement*, November 30, 1935, p. 817.

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309. Morchard Bishop. "Rough Stuff in Novels." *John O'London's Weekly*, LXI (February 1, 1952), 111.
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318. Seymour Krim. "The Passion of the Peons." *The Commonweal,* LVI (June 13, 1952), 250.

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319. *The Tablet* (London), CCIV (July 31, 1954), 112.

V. B. Critical and Biographical Essays on Traven.

320. Charlot Strasser. *Vier Neue Amerikanische Dichter;* Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, and B. Traven. Zürich: VPOD, 1929.

321. Manfred Georg. "Kennen Sie B. Traven?" *Die Weltbühne,* XXV (September 24, 1929), 484-487.
(A few biographical remarks; a few critical remarks on Traven's novels; and a quotation or two from Traven's letters.)

322. Ernst Blass. "Über Traven." *Die Literarische Welt,* VII (1929). Indexed in *Die Literatur,* XXXIII (1930-1931), 701.
(I have not seen this article.)

323. Felix Scherret. "Das Werk B. Travens." *Die Literatur,* XXXII (1929-1930), 389-390.
(Critical comment, with some biographical details.)

324. Peter Panter. "B. Traven." *Die Weltbühne,* XXVI (November 25, 1930), 793-800.
(Critical comment on his novels.)

325. P. U. Otte. "B. Traven, Goldgräber, Baumwollpflücker, Viehtreiber und Dichter." *Berliner Tagesblatt,* 355. Indexed in *Die Literatur,* XXXIII (1930-1931), 32.
(I have not seen this article.)

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(I have not seen this article.)

327. "Die Nationalität von B. Traven." *Die Büchergilde*, September, 1931, No. 9.
(Quotes a letter from Traven in which he says, "I do not belong to the Germans. . . . I consider the Mexican-Indian . . . as my heart's brother.")

328. *Die Büchergilde*, November, 1931, No. 11.
(Short comment on Traven's personality.)

329. Heinrich Seufert. "Der Erzähler B. Traven." *Fränkfurt Tagespost*, 322. Indexed in *Die Literatur*, XXXIV (1931-1932), 325.
(I have not seen this article.)

330. Edvard Welle-Strand. "Begegnung mit B. Traven." *Berliner Tagesblatt*, 128. Indexed in *Die Literatur*, XXXIV (1931-1932), 452-453.
(Extract is given in which an "interview" with Traven in Norway is recounted.)

331. "*Das Totenschiff* . . ." *Büchergilde*, May, 1934, No. 5, inset between pp. 72 and 73.
(Article on success and suppression of the novel.)

332. Alfred A. Knopf. "B. Traven." *The Borzoi Broadside*, September, 1935, p. 4.
(Short article on the publication of *The Death Ship*.)

333. "Ein Fabelhafter Kerl!" *Büchergilde*, April, 1936, No. 4, pp. 51-65.
(A history and critical analysis of Traven's work published by the Guild. This issue of *Büchergilde* is entitled "10 Jahre Traven.")

334. Harry Schwartz. *This Book Collecting Racket*. Chicago: Normandie House, 1937. Pp. 79-81.
(Short comment on Traven's work and mysteriousness and an extract from a letter from Traven which says, in part, " 'The publishers of the German editions of my books knew from the first day . . . that I am an American born in the U. S. A.' ")

335. "On the Trail of B. Traven." *The Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXIV (July 9, 1938), 105-106.
(Details on publication by Knopf of Traven's books.)

336. Pedro Geoffroy Rivas. Introduction to *La Rebelion de los Colgados*. Mexico, D. F.: Ediciones Insignia, 1938.
(I have not seen this article.)

337. Ralph Thompson. "Books of the Times." The New York *Times*, July 18, 1938.
(Speculations on Traven's nationality and identity; mention of several articles on Traven.)

338. Lawrence Clark Powell. "Who Is B. Traven?" *New Masses*, XXVIII (August 2, 1938), 22-23.
(Biographical and critical article; speculations about Traven's style as a possible method of identifying him.)

339. Arthur Calder-Marshall. "The Novels of B. Traven." *Horizon*, I (July, 1940), 522-528.
(Important and early critical analysis.)

340. Oscar Cerruto. "Bruno Traven, El Escritor Incognito." Introduction to *El Barco de los Muertos*. Mexico, D. F.: No publ., 1945. Pp. [7]-14.
(Vague comments on Traven's enigmatic silence and a fairly detailed discussion of *El Barco de los Muertos*.)

341. Leopold Spitzegger. "Wer Ist B. Traven?" *Plan* (Vienna), I (August, 1946), 668-671.
(Important article for biographical details: Traven's revolutionary activities in Germany after World War I and his newspaper *Der Ziegelbrenner*. Suggests his name may be Marut. Apparently authentic.)

342. H. R. Hays. "The Importance of B. Traven." *Chimera*, IV (Summer, 1946), 44-54.
(Very careful analysis, thematically and structurally, of Traven's novels.)

343. William W. Johnson. "Who Is B. Traven?" *Life*, XXII (March 10, 1947), 13-14, 16.
(First article in English that attempts to unravel some of the mystery surrounding Traven, but no effort is made to identify him. Purported photograph of Traven reproduced.)

344. Manfred George. "B. Traven's Identity." *The New Republic*, CXVI (March 24, 1947), 35.
(Cf. No. 321 above. Letter to the editor, answering Johnson's article and referring to Spitzegger's article in *Plan*. Emphasizes again Traven's revolutionary activities.)

345. "Ist Traven ein Revolutionär?" *Sonntag*, II (1947).
(I have not seen this article.)

346. Peggy le Boutillier. "Who Is B. Traven? What Is He?" *Modern Mexico*, XX (January, 1948), 14-15.
(A rather chatty article that offers some possibly valuable information about Traven's life and activities in Mexico, especially during the filming of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*.)

347. Dwight Whitney. "More About Traven." *Life*, XXIV (February 2, 1948), 66.
(That Traven, using name of Hal Croves, worked on Mexican lot during filming of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*. Two photographs of Traven reproduced. A review of the motion picture in *Time*, LI (February 2, 1948), 82, contains same information.)

348. "B. Traven Betrayed?" *Life*, XXIV (March 15, 1948), 23.
(A letter to the editor from "Hal Croves," answering Whitney's article and virulently attacking John Huston. Written from San Antonio, Texas.)

349. "The B. Traven Mystery." *Time*, LI (March 15, 1948), 12, 14.
(Another letter to the editor from "Hal Croves," in which he denies being Traven and being employed by Huston. There is a short rebuttal by Huston.)

350. Luis Spota. " 'Mañana' Descubre la Identidad de B. Traven!" *Mañana*, No. 258, August 7, 1948, pp. 10-26.
(A not too well-written and quite sensationalized article that nevertheless is invaluable for its documentary evidence on Traven's identity, his activities in Mexico, his home in Acapulco. Profusely illustrated with photographs and photostatic reproductions of documents. Proof is offered that Traven is Berick Torsvan, an American born in Chicago in 1890.)

351. "The Secret of El Gringo." *Time*, LII (August 16, 1948), 34, 36.
(A synopsis of Spota's article. *Time* accepts his evidence and says that Torsvan, Croves, and Traven are the same man. Photograph of Traven.)

352. G. Düby. "Auf d. Suche nach B. Traven." *Sonntag*, III (1948), No. 4, p. 2–.
(I have not seen this article.)

353. Hanns Wilhelm Eppelsheimer. "Traven." *Handbuch der Weltliteratur*. Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1950, II, 317-318.
(Short biographical and bibliographical article that offers nothing new.)

354. B. Lynn. "The Works of B. Traven." *Arena*, I (1950), 89-94.
(Critical article in this short-lived British quarterly.)

355. Alfred Franz. "Der Geheimnisvolle Traven." *Bücherei und Bildung*, II (June-July, 1950), 598-604.
(Critical article but without much value.)

356. T. A. Kirby. "Pardoner's Tale and *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*." *Modern Language Notes*, LXVI (1951), 269-270.
(Interesting parallels drawn.)

357. "Traven." *Die Welt Literatur*. Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1954, III, 1786-1787.
(Brief biographical and critical article.)

358. Bernard Riethoff. *Die Kunst des Aufschreibens*. Frankfurt, 1956. Pp. 3, 212-214.
(I have not seen this book.)

359. "Zu einzelnen Autoren." *Bücherei und Bildung*, VIII (April, 1956), 330.
(Comment on Traven.)

Bibliographical Notes

Binding for Pope Paul IV

Gian Pietro Carafa (1476-1559) was elevated to the papacy (as Pope Paul IV) in 1555. Among the bindings executed for him as Pope was a four-volume Latin *Bible* with the scholia of Nicolaus de Lyra, Venice, Paganinus de Paganinis, 1495 (Stillwell B542; Proctor 5170; GW 4283). In due course the library of Paul IV was dispersed and, unfortunately, the four volumes of this Latin *Bible* became separated.

Centuries later, volume one was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. Still later, in 1956, volume two was presented to the Columbia University Libraries by Mr. Harry G. Friedman, but the nature of its binding was not immediately recognized. In the summer of 1958, when an exhibition of historical bookbindings was being assembled at Columbia, it was noted that the binding on Mr. Friedman's gift bore a close resemblance to one exhibited the previous year at the Baltimore Museum of Art by the Walters Art Gallery (see Dorothy Miner, *History of Bookbinding 525-1950 A.D.*, Baltimore, 1957, no. 226). A comparison of the two bindings shows that these are volumes of the same set. Volumes three and four are known only through dealers' catalogue entries and illustrations.[1]

The binding on this volume is of reddish-brown morocco, gold tooled in a Grolieresque design. The broad frame border of delicate renaissance work is formed of a careful repetition of a floral stamp, the placement of which varies on the individual volumes, volumes one and three having the same arrangement and volumes two and four having the stamp alternately reversed. The same stamp is employed also on the panels of the spine—in the case of the Columbia volume, in reverse order from that in use on the covers. Borders formed by the use of the stamp in both positions appear on a number of books known to have been bound in Rome in the mid-16th century. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the binding is the product of a Roman bindery of this period.

The center panel of the covers is filled with an elaborate geometrical design interspersed with scroll work and sprays built up of small fleurons and curved tools. The foliate tools employed are solid, outline or azured, and vary in their placement from volume to volume. Whoever did the tooling on these volumes must have had imagination and initiative, for no one of them exactly resembles

[1] Vol. III—Belin, *Livres des XVe and XVIe siècles . . .*, 1914, plate 24; vol. IV—Pearson, J., *Catalogue of a magnificent collection of Papal bindings*, n.d., No. 3.

any other. Possibly, of course, each volume was tooled by a different worker at the bindery.

The title is stamped in gold on leather onlaid over the border at the top of the lower cover. (The contents of each volume appear on one or more of the panels of the spine.) The arms of Pope Paul IV are stamped in the center of the panel, surmounted by the Papal tiara and crossed keys. Without the Papal insignia, the arms appear at the four corners of the covers. Four clasps on leather straps (of which three are missing) and four metal bosses on each cover complete the decoration of this volume.

ALICE H. BONNELL

Columbia University Library

J. D. Salinger: A Checklist

J. D. Salinger's current reputation rests on *The Catcher in the Rye* and a dozen or so short stories. But his popularity is out of all proportion to this relatively slight output. In New York City fan clubs of his readers have been organized, and, according to *The Nation's* 1957 symposium on the college student, Holden Caulfield is the one voice that most college students find acceptable for their age. The short stories began to appear in *The New Yorker* in 1946; before then, however, several stories without the sophistication generally associated with *The New Yorker* had been published in magazines like *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. One may trace in these early stories the development of Salinger's dedication to what the *New York Herald Tribune* has described as "skinless perfectionism." In addition to the stories listed below, Salinger sold a short story, "Paula," which has never been published, to *Stag* magazine in 1942.

1. Works by Jerome David Salinger (b. Jan. 1, 1919)

"The Young Folks," *Story*, XVI (March-April, 1940), pp. 26+

"The Hang of It," *Collier's*, CVIII (July 12, 1941), p. 22

"The Heart of a Broken Story," *Esquire*, XVI (Sept., 1941), pp. 32+

[Letter], "Contributors," *Story*, XXI (Sept.-Oct., 1942), p. 2

"The Long Debut of Lois Taggett," *Story*, XXI (Sept.-Oct., 1942), pp. 28-34

"Personal Notes on an Infantryman," *Collier's*, CX (Dec. 12, 1942), p. 96

"The Varioni Brothers," *The Saturday Evning Post*, CCXVI (July 17, 1943), pp. 12-13+

"Both Parties Concerned," *The Saturday Evening Post*, CCXVI (Feb. 26, 1944), pp. 14+

"Soft-Boiled Sergeant," *The Saturday Evening Post*, ccxvi (April 15, 1944), pp. 18+

"Last Day of the Last Furlough," *The Saturday Evening Post*, ccxvii (July 15, 1944), pp. 26-27+

[Letter], "Biographical Notes," *Story*, xxv (Nov.-Dec., 1944), p. 1

"Once a Week Won't Kill You," *Story*, xxv (Nov.-Dec., 1944), pp. 23-27

"Boy in France," *The Saturday Evening Post*, ccxvii (March 31, 1945), p. 21+

"Elaine," *Story*, xxvi (March-April, 1945), pp. 38-47

"This Sandwich Has No Mayonnaise," *Esquire*, xxiv (Oct., 1945), pp. 54-56+

"The Stranger," *Collier's*, cxvi (Dec. 1, 1945), pp. 18+

"I'm Crazy," *Collier's*, cxvi (Dec. 22, 1945), pp. 36+

"Slight Rebellion Off Madison," *The New Yorker*, xxii (Dec. 21, 1946), pp. 82-86

"A Young Girl in 1941 with No Waist at All," *Mademoiselle*, xxv (May, 1947), pp. 222-223+

"The Inverted Forest," *Cosmopolitan*, cxxiii (Dec., 1947), pp. 73-109

"A Perfect Day for Bananafish," *The New Yorker*, xxiii (Jan. 31, 1948), pp. 21-25

"A Girl I Knew," *Good Housekeeping*, cxxvi (Feb., 1948), pp. 37+

"Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," *The New Yorker*, xxiv (March 20, 1948), pp. 30-36

"Just Before the War with the Eskimos," *The New Yorker*, xxiv (June 5, 1948), pp. 37-40

"Blue Melody," *Cosmopolitan*, cxxv (Sept., 1948), pp. 51+

"The Laughing Man," *The New Yorker*, xxv (March 19, 1949), pp. 27-32

"Down at the Dinghy," *Harper's*, cxcviii (April, 1949), pp. 87-91

"For Esmé—with Love and Squalor," *The New Yorker*, xxvi (April 8, 1950), pp. 28-36

The Catcher in the Rye (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951). First printing except for portions of Chapters 1, 2, and 22 which had appeared as "I'm Crazy," *supra*, and part of Chapter 17 which had appeared as "Slight Rebellion Off Madison," *supra*.

"Pretty Mouth and Green My Eyes," *The New Yorker*, xxvii (July 14, 1951), pp. 20-24

"Teddy," *The New Yorker*, xxviii (Jan. 31, 1953), pp. 26-34

Nine Stories (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1953).

"A Perfect Day for Bananafish," "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," "Just Before the War with the Eskimos," "The Laughing Man," "Down at the Dinghy," "For Esmé—with Love and Squalor," "Pretty Mouth and Green My Eyes," "De Daumier-Smith's Blue Period," and "Teddy." First printing for "De Daumier-Smith's Blue Period."

[Letter to the Editor], *Twentieth Century Authors*, First Supplement (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1955), pp. 859-860

"Franny," *The New Yorker*, xxx (Jan. 29, 1955), pp. 24-43

"Raise High the Roof-Beam Carpenter," *The New Yorker*, xxxi (Nov. 19, 1955), pp. 51-116

"Zooey," *The New Yorker*, xxxiii (May 4, 1957), pp. 32-139

2. Works about Salinger

"Biographical Sketch," *The Saturday Review*, XXXIV (July 14, 1951), p. 12
E. P. Hazard, "Eight Fictional Finds," *The Saturday Review*, XXXV (Feb. 16, 1952), pp. 16-17
William Peden, "Esthetics of the Story, *New Yorker* Type," *The Saturday Review*, XXXVI (April 11, 1953), pp. 43-44
John W. Aldridge, "The Society of Three Novels," *In Search of Heresy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 126-148
Arthur Heiserman and James E. Miller, Jr., "J. D. Salinger: Some Crazy Cliff," *The Western Humanities Review*, X (Spring, 1956), pp. 129-137
Charles Kaplan, "Holden and Huck: The Odysseys of Youth," *College English*, XVIII (Nov., 1956), pp. 76-80
David L. Stevenson, "J. D. Salinger: The Mirror of Crisis," *The Nation*, CLXXXIV (March 9, 1957), pp. 4-6
Charles H. Kegel, "Incommunicability in Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*," *The Western Humanities Review*, XI (Spring, 1957), pp. 188-190
Edgar Branch, "Mark Twain and J. D. Salinger: A Study in Literary Continuity," *The American Quarterly*, IX (Summer, 1957), pp. 144-158
Ihab H. Hassan, "Rare Quixotic Gesture: The Fiction of J. D. Salinger," *The Western Review*, XXI (Summer, 1957), pp. 261-280
Frederic I. Carpenter, "The Adolescent in American Fiction," *The English Journal*, XLVI (Sept., 1957), 313-319
Donald Barr, "Saints, Pilgrims and Artists," *The Commonweal*, LXVII (Oct. 25, 1957), pp. 88-90
Maxwell Geismar, "J. D. Salinger: The Wise Child and the *New Yorker* School of Fiction," *American Moderns, From Rebellion to Conformity* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1958), pp. 195-209
Martin Green, "Amis and Salinger: The Latitude of Private Conscience," *The Chicago Review*, XI (Winter, 1958), pp. 20-25
William Wiegand, "J. D. Salinger: Seventy-eight Bananas," *The Chicago Review*, XI (Winter, 1958), pp. 3-19
Dan Wakefield, "Salinger and the Search for Love," *New World Writing*, XIV (The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., December, 1958), pp. 68-85
Arthur Mizener, "The Love Song of J. D. Salinger," *Harper's*, CCXVIII (February, 1959), pp. 83-89

TOM DAVIS

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Another Manuscript Version of Sandys' "Song of Solomon"

In a recent article entitled "Sandys' *Song of Solomon:* Its Manuscript Versions and Their Circulation,"[1] Richard Beale Davis discusses the three printed

[1] *PBSA*, L (1956), 328-341.

versions (London: 1641; Oxford: 1641; London: 1676) and the seven known manuscript versions of George Sandys' *Song of Solomon.* Three of the manuscript versions, Davis notes, are bound into copies of Sandys' *Paraphrase Vpon The Divine Poems* (London: 1638) and are located in American libraries.

My own copy of the 1638 edition[2] contains a fourth manuscript copy of Sandys' paraphrase on the Song of Solomon bound in between his paraphrases on Ecclesiastes and Jeremiah and following sig. 2B*4. Containing nine leaves, its title page resembles closely the copy in the University of Cincinnati and reads as follows: "A PARAPHRASE | VPON THE | SONG OF | SOLOMON | BY GEORGE | SANDYS | ANNO 1637." With the exception of the title page verso, which is blank, all other leaves contain text on both sides.

Beautifully written within lined margins on what appears to be contemporary paper, the manuscript is obviously the work of a professional copyist, although not an extremely accurate one. The handwriting of the manuscript is neat and evenly spaced, but the errors the copyist has made in transcribing from his unknown copy-text are frequent and egregious. Some of these errors are corrected in the handwriting of the copyist, and were inserted either at the time of transcription or during a period of later revision; the majority, however, are corrected distinctly in a different hand using a heavier ink and are perhaps the work of a later owner or reviser of the manuscript. This second

[2] A | PARAPHRASE | VPON THE | DIVINE POEMS. | BY | *GEORGE SANDYS.* || [device, McKerrow 166[v]] || *LONDON* | At the *Bell* in S[t]. *Pauls* Churchyard. | CIↃ. | IↃC. | XXXVIII.

Collation: 2°, *[6], 2*[4], 3*[1], A-G[4], g[6], H-2D[4], 2E[6], 2A*-2B*[4], 3A[6] (-3A1), 3B-3D[4]; 156 leaves, pp. [1-22]+1-55+[56]+[1-12]+1-171+[172]+1-15+[16]+1-33+[34]; signed in twos (-*1, g1; *3, g3, M3, 2E3, 3A3); no catchwords on *1v; 2*4v; 3*1v; G4r; g2r; g4v; g5r; I3v; I4r; S4v; X1v; 2E6r; 2B*4r; 3A6v; 3D2v.

Possible reasons for the cancellation of the half title on 3A1 are discussed by Fredson Bowers and R. B. Davis in *George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1950), pp. 42-43.

This copy, bound in contemporary leather, contains the bookplate of "Aldersey of Aldersey in Cheshire 1755." On the recto of the first blank is the following inscription written in what appears to be an eighteenth-century hand: "E Libris Sam: Aldersey." For pedigrees of the Aldersey family of Aldersey and Spurstow, Cheshire, see *The Visitation of Cheshire in the Yeare 1580* . . . , ed. John Paul Rylands, XVIII (London: Harleian Society, 1882), 1; *Pedigrees Made at the Visitation of Cheshire, 1613* . . . , ed. George J. Armytage, LIX (London: Harleian Society, 1909), 5-6; and *Cheshire Visitation Pedigrees 1663*, ed. Arthur Adams, XCIII (London: Harleian Society, 1941), 1. It is possible that this copy was originally owned by the Aldersey family of Aldersey and later passed to a member of the family branch residing in Wigan, Lancashire—Samuel Aldersey, who matriculated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in July, 1734, and received his Ll.B. in 1738. Earlier, at the age of 17, he had matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, November 29, 1731. He was ordained a deacon at Lincoln on March 6, 1736/7; priest, December 24, 1738; he was Vicar of Bunbury, Cheshire, 1760-1782. He died in February, 1802. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* Pt. 1, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1922), p. 13; *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886,* 1 (London: 1887), 13.

hand has corrected capitals (e.g., l. 361, gemme *to* Gemme) and spellings (l. 12, lenght *to* length; l. 14, intranst *to* intranc't; l. 24, burnis't *to* burnisht; l. 346, paralleld *to* paralelld; l. 349, persute *to* pursute); corrected obvious copyist errors (l. 81, dark'nes *to* darkens; l. 479, Whose *to* Who's); and shortened the syllables of individual words (l. 358, Iseraells *to* Israells). The initial copyist of the manuscript, however, follows closely the text of the paraphrase in the 1676[3] edition with the exception that he does not indicate the eight Canticle divisions. As the following variant readings show, his major deviations from the 1676 text are due to (1) obvious errors in copying; (2) inconsistency in his practice of omitting or inserting vowels; and (3) changing singular nouns and verbs to the plural forms. I have not included errors corrected by either the original copyist or the later reviser.

9 Belov'd] beloued
37 SPONSVS] *omitted*
53 While he the] he *omitted*
56 Odor fills] Od⟨ê⟩rs fill⟨s⟩ *corrections in hand of original copyist*
62 Vineyard] Vineyards
160 with] in
261 proceed] proceeds
262 feed] feeds
305 Souls Belov'd] Soules delight
306 remov'd] from sight
381 th'] the
396 unaware] vnawarres
399 Drawn] Drawen
407 than] then
428 Tresses] Trees *obvious error in copying*
437 Branches] fruitfull *obvious error in copying*

[3] [within double rules] A | Paraphrase | UPON THE | DIVINE POEMS. || BY | *GEORGE SANDYS.* || [square of 4 type-orn.] ||| *LONDON,* | Printed by *J. M.* for *Abel Roper,* at the *Sun* | in *Fleet-ſtreet,* 1676.

Collation: 8°, A-F⁸, G⁴, ²A-Q⁸, 2A-2E⁸, 2F⁴; 224 leaves, pp. [1-24]+1-79+[80]+[1-16]+1-240+1-20+[21-22]+23-43+[44]+45-83+[84]+85-87+[88]; signed in fours (-A1, ²A1, 2B3, 2F3, 2F4; ¹G²⟨²E4 misprinted as E3; 2F1, 2 as F1, 2⟩); no catchwords on A1v; ²Q8v; 2B3v.

My copy has been rebound in modern binding. On the title page, sig. A1r, appear three transcriptions in two hands: "Ex libris Mich. Brandreth Coll Eman: Camb. pr: i/ 1682" in one hand; "Jane Stannton" and "The gift of my brother Mich Brand. 1696" in another. Michael Brandreth and his brother, John, of Shenstone, were admitted as pensioners at Emmanuel, Cambridge, on May 31, 1682; and in the same year were also admitted to the Middle Temple. Michael, who was baptised on November 6, 1665, was buried on July 29, 1705. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* Pt. 1, Vol. 1, p. 206. It seems probable that my copy of the 1676 edition once belonged to the above Michael Brandreth, who bought it for one shilling upon his entrance to Emmanuel and later gave it to his sister.

440 new pull'd] new-pluck'd
461 gathered, all preserv'd] gather'd all preserued
491 enflame] inflam'd

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Lanrick—A Game for Two Players, by Lewis Carroll

No correct listing of the printings of *Lanrick* has previously been made. Carroll developed the game slowly: in the preface to *Syzygies & Lanrick,* 1893, Carroll says the first version of the rules was written, not published, on 26 December 1878 (Williams and Madan *Handbook,* 1931, no. 217).[1]

1. First printing, 16 January 1879. Four page leaflet, $7\frac{15}{16}$ x 5″. Printed on first page only. Six rules are given. Three copies are known, all bearing corrections by Carroll. (*Handbook* 110; but the description is inaccurate, since the authors had never seen a copy.)

2. Second printing, 1 March 1879. Four page leaflet, 8 x 5″. Printed on pages 1 and 4. The pamphlet opens from left to right. There are ten rules, much modified. Only one copy is known. (Page 8, Supplement to *Handbook.*)

3. Third printing. One leaf, $8\frac{11}{16}$ x $5\frac{9}{16}$″. Proof copy dated (by Carroll) "December 1880," in purple ink; other corrections in his handwriting. Two copies known. (Not listed in *Handbook.*)

4. Fourth printing (first published printing). *The Monthly Packet,* December 1880, p. 614. Here Carroll states that he has been inventing the game for two years.

5. Fifth printing. *The Monthly Packet,* August 1881, pp. 198-199.

6. Sixth printing, October 1881. Four page leaflet, $7\frac{1}{8}$ x $4\frac{5}{8}$″. The eight rules are again quite different. Two copies known. I possess a note by Mr. Falconer Madan dated 24 Feb. 1934: "This is 117 in Handbook. Mr. Collingwood's account of it probably is from the Clarendon Press Register and he probably never saw a copy. It preceded the third edition which was published as part of the Monthly Packet for November 1881." (Page 8, Supplement to *Handbook.*)

7. Seventh Printing. *The Monthly Packet,* November 1881, p. 512.

ALFRED C. BEROL

New York City

[1] References to "*Handbook*" are to S. H. Williams and Falconer Madan, *A Handbook of the Literature of C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll),* and *Supplement.* 2v. London, 1931-1935.

News and Notes

Edited by Herbert Cahoon

It is proposed to include on these pages news and notes of bibliographical interest. The informational value of this department, as published in a quarterly, must depend to a considerable degree upon the early receipt of announcements of forthcoming events: those with news and notes to offer are invited to communicate with the compiler at 33 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y., at their earliest opportunities. News of bibliographical work in progress, distinguished bookmen from other countries, significant exhibitions of bibliophilic interest, and important transactions in the book world are all highly eligible and will be used insofar as space permits. The BSA and the *Papers* are directed to and represent bibliographical scholarship throughout America and the compiler in his usual Manhattan insularity will particularly welcome communications from members in the newly formed Regions of the Society outside the Mid-Atlantic Region.

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The Annual Meeting of the BSA was held at The Grolier Club in New York City on Friday afternoon, January 23rd. It was a significant meeting in the history of the Society, for all Chairmen of the Regional Boards were present except Robert Vosper, Great Plains Region, and Robert Hitchman, Pacific Northwest Region—these Regions being the newest members of the national organization of the Society. Three of the Chairmen were the speakers of the occasion. George L. Harding, Pacific Southwest Region, spoke of plans and projects in his area (one of which may be a Newsletter) and revealed to many Easterners the importance of the Pacific Northwest, including the libraries and scholars of British Columbia, as a coöperative unit in many endeavors. Stanley Pargellis, Mid-West Region, praised the pioneer bibliographical work of Gesner and Petzholdt and made a forceful plea for evaluative as opposed to enumerative bibliography. (His address is printed in this issue.) Lawrence S. Thompson, Old South-West Region, in the dual rôle of "backwoods" collector and librarian who follows bibliographical developments throughout the world, told of the acquisition of law books from the pigeon-ridden attics of Kentucky courthouses, of volumes from far behind the Iron Curtain, and of scientific reports from American bases in Antarctica. (One

wonders if these present near-antipodal publishers know of the *Aurora Australis*, printed in part at least in the South Polar regions during the Shackleton expedition of 1907-1909. Ninety copies were printed and were bound in covers made from the wood of packing cases which had contained provisions; a few of them are in American libraries.)

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THERE IS REAL PROGRESS to report on the three major bibliographical works now being compiled under the auspices of the BSA. Volume three of the *Bibliography of American Literature*, edited by Jacob Blanck, is now in press and should be published about the end of this year. W. H. Bond of the Houghton Library states that the compilation of new descriptions and new locations of manuscripts is virtually complete for the *Supplement* to De Ricci and Wilson's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. His typescript still requires a final checking and a few additional entries remain to be made. In a progress report of January, 1959, Frederick R. Goff of the Library of Congress announced that 417 libraries and collectors had submitted their holdings to *A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books in American Libraries*. At the moment Mr. Goff has 1,280 completely new entries not included in the 1940 *Census*. The number of new entries reflects, he feels, both the useful purposes that the earlier *Censuses* have served and the intelligent acquisitions program that American collectors have adopted. Final editing and typing of the manuscript of the new *Census* will probably begin this spring.

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AMONG THE VISITORS to the United States so far this year are Professor Bernhard Bischoff, of Munich, at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, at the University of Wisconsin; and K. G. Boon of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. J. N. L. Myres, Bodley's Librarian; Basil Gray, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum; Anthony Hobson of Sotheby; and The Hon. Patrick Lindsay of Christie's are, or recently have been, in this country.

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THE GROLIER CLUB of the City of New York, the oldest organization of its kind in the United States, will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary this year. In his *The Grolier Club 1884-1950, an Informal History*, John T. Winterich

gives an entertaining account of its beginnings, founding fathers, moves and removes, and descriptions of some of the more notable books it has published and public exhibitions it has sponsored. In this diamond anniversary year the Club, whose object is literary study and the promotion of the arts pertaining to the production of books, will add a pilgrimage and a publication to the annals of book collecting.

In April a group of members and wives will go to England and France on a bibliographical tour somewhat less leisurely than those of Dibdin, but one which will present a concentrated opportunity to visit great private and public collections and to meet fellow collectors of both nations. Later in the year the Club will publish a volume of informal biographical sketches of distinguished members no longer living, written by present members. This is a book which should be welcomed by all collectors. Much more information on American collectors needs to be brought together—biographical data, anecdotes, collecting influences, and in many cases accurate information on specific collections; perhaps the new Grolier compilation will entice someone to come forward to continue and supplement the work of Ruth Shepard Granniss and Carl L. Cannon. It may also provoke volumes of reminiscences from collectors and dealers to join those of William Loring Andrews, A. S. W. Rosenbach, A. Edward Newton, and Clarence S. Brigham.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS of Frank C. Francis welcomed the news of his recent appointment as Director and Principal Librarian of The British Museum. Mr. Francis began work at the Museum Library in 1926 and has filled several distinguished posts in his own institution and in the world of scholarship. His publications include books, articles, reviews, and translations on subjects as far apart as Chinese Art and Xerox, and his professional activities are many. From 1936 to 1952, Mr. Francis was editor of *The Library*, official organ of The Bibliographical Society. In *Who's Who* he lists bibliography among his recreations.

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AMONG THE MANY ANNIVERSARIES that have been or will be celebrated this year by at least a passing nod are those of Edgar Allan Poe (superbly commemorated by Yale and Colonel Gimbel), Abraham Lincoln, Robert Burns, Lord Tennyson, Charles Darwin, A. E. Housman, and the publication of *Candide, A Tale of Two Cities,* and Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát.* But the anniversary

that may appeal most to bookmen is the 250th of the birth of Dr. Samuel Johnson, which falls on September 18th, and the 200th anniversary of that week in 1759 when he wrote *The Prince of Abissinia*—known to posterity as *Rasselas*. An exhibition of first editions, manuscripts, and letters of Dr. Johnson will open at the Pierpont Morgan Library on September 22nd and continue through November 21st. The Library's own extensive holdings will be supplemented by loans of material from other institutions and private collections, notably that of Donald and Mary Hyde.

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On the extra day that leap year presented to 1868 Charles Dickens, his manager, George Dolby, and several American friends amused themselves by engaging in a seemingly strenuous walking match. James T. Fields in his *Yesterdays with Authors* (Boston, 1899), beginning on page 177 (the book has no index) gives a full description of the event. America, in the person of James R. Osgood, won the match in a thirteen-mile tramp through snow mid icy blasts. Dickens immortalized the occasion by drawing up both Articles of Agreement and The Sporting Narrative which were printed as a large broadside and apparently distributed at the dinner for victors and vanquished at the Parker House that evening. (Another school of thought believes the broadside was printed later and mailed to friends.) This broadside is a considerable rarity; authorities list the number printed as five, fifteen, or eighteen. Without half trying it was possible to locate six copies: the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, Morgan, Huntington, Free Library of Philadelphia, Princeton, and The Richard Gimbel collection. At this point inquiries ceased but other libraries and private owners of the broadside are invited to notify this department, which will report the census at some future time. The original broadside, untrimmed, measures 21 x 23½ inches, has a five-cent United States revenue stamp attached, and is signed by Dolby, Osgood, Fields, and Dickens, with V. S. Anthony as witness. Osgood's (the winner's) copy was sold at the Parke-Bernet Galleries on November 17, 1953 (Sale 1468, no. 60—the Lewis A. Hird Collection) and the catalogue contains a reproduction of the piece. The *Great International Walking-Match* was reprinted by persons unknown some years later and copies of this reprint, smaller in size, reset so that line endings do not match those of the original, without the revenue stamp and with the signatures in facsimile, are sometimes mistaken for the original.

Letters to the Editor

The Colors of Cloth

Sir,

Mr. R. Toole Stott's letter in the Fourth Quarter 1958 issue should be a warning to other commentators on bibliographical method, as it is to me, to avoid flippant remarks on serious subjects. When I wrote, in my *ABC for Book-Collectors*, that "there has never been much precision or uniformity in describing the colours of cloth used in publishers' bindings; and until we all agree to use the official *Dictionary of Colour Standards*, this imprecision will no doubt persist," I meant the bibliographical equivalent of the Greek Kalends. And when, following the lead of Mr. Patrick's Cahill's handlist of Hilaire Belloc, Mr. Stott proceeded to take my questionably utopian "suggestion" seriously, the reviewer of his excellent bibliography of Somerset Maugham in *TLS* observed that it had perhaps hardly been so intended. He was right.

Yet because old dogs like Michael Sadleir and myself might go on using (and Sadleir, in his XIX *Century Fiction*, expanding) the conventional nomenclature, just as we both (on stronger grounds, I think) jibbed at Jacob Blanck's return to manufacturers' catalogue-letters for the description of cloth grains in the *Bibliography of American Literature;* and just because young sprigs like Dan Laurence don't like the Cahill-Stott colour system; that does not mean that the system has not merit or that it will not prevail, even if I did help to father it without meaning to. The *TLS* reviewer above-mentioned summed up, I thought, very sensibly: "Whether or not such verifiable precision is worth achieving at the cost of superficial confusion in the minds of those who are more familiar with *The Library* than with *Vogue*, is perhaps debatable. But use will tell."

I am, Sir, your always obedient and in this instance suitably contrite servant

JOHN CARTER

London, England
22 January 1959

Henry Stevens and Washington's Library

Sir,

In the latest number of *The Papers* (LII, p. 259) the statement is made that two of the books from Washington's library "with the choicest signatures"

were sold to Mr. Lenox for $350.00. This of course is based on Henry Stevens' own statement in *Recollections of Mr. James Lenox*, 1886, p. 110, "I reserved to myself five volumes with choice autographs, two of which were sold to Mr. Lenox, one for £20 and the other for £50, the remaining three being presented to the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Royal Library of Berlin."

Mr. Stevens' remarkable memory was evidently this time not quite accurate. The only book from Washington's library acquired by Lenox before he established his Foundation in 1870, was J. W. Fletcher's *An appeal to matter of fact and common sense, The third edition.* London [1780?], for which he paid Stevens ten guineas, not twenty or fifty. But he did sell one of these "reserved" books for fifty guineas to the one collector of that time who would appreciate its importance and be willing to pay such a price. That collector was Henry Huth, who thus acquired the first authorized edition of John Trumbull's *McFingal*, Hartford, 1782, in a fine American binding, with Washington's bookplate and signature. It is now in the Chapin Library in Williamstown, Massachusetts. As for the ones said to be presented to the institutional libraries, I have not enquired.

It is noteworthy that Stevens nowhere in his *Recollections* refers to Henry Huth, although Stevens sold him a great many of his most important Americana including, for example, his very fine series of De Bry.

William A. Jackson

Harvard University

Book Reviews

J. Basil Oldham. *Blind Panels of English Binders.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. xvi, 56 pp. 67 plates. 15 x 10 inches. $22.50.

The problems that complicate the history of English bookbinding for the sixty years following Caxton's introduction of printing at Westminster are epitomized in the much discussed six-volume set of the Strassburg *Speculum* by Vincent of Beauvais, presented to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by its founder, Richard Foxe. The fullest treatment of this six-fold enigma appears in G. D. Hobson's *Blind-Stamped Panels in the English Book-Trade*, London, 1944, pp. 19-29. Hobson concluded that four volumes were bound at Lübeck, one in the lower Rhineland, and one in London. The latter is decorated with three signed Flemish panels imported second-hand (one dates from the thirteenth century), and with four smaller stamps of Flemish design that belonged to the London "Indulgence Binder." Hobson conjectures that the set was assembled and the one volume bound by William de Machlinia, first the partner and then the successor of John Lettou, and that it subsequently passed to Machlinia's successor, Richard Pynson, who sold it to Foxe. Three of these names are of foreign printers who established themselves in London, William from Mechelen (Malines), John from Lithuania, and Pynson from Rouen.

From the 1480's to the 1530's, the English booktrade was dominated by the foreign stationers, who printed books in England and also imported large quantities from the continent. They introduced the blind-stamped panel, and when they departed (for sound political and religious reasons), its use virtually ceased. J. B. Oldham's *Blind Panels of English Binders* is concerned with panels used in England during this period and later, many of them imported from the Netherlands or France after being used there, and most of them used in England by foreigners.

Oldham's Sandars lectures, published in 1952 under the title *English Blind-Stamped Bindings*, were concerned exclusively with stamps and rolls; at that time he considered that panels had been treated in sufficient detail in Hobson's Bibliographical Society monograph, cited above. But the war-necessitated lack of illustrations in Hobson's book, and the continued accumulation of essential evidence by Oldham, have inspired the Cambridge University Press to issue this much-needed volume as a companion to Oldham's earlier work, and in the same format, except that here the plates are printed on both sides of the sheet.

Oldham's criteria for English use are that the panel must appear on books

showing independent evidence that they were bound in England, or that no use of the panel is known outside of England (such as the Jehan Moulin signed panels, probably of Rouen origin, but known only on English books). His studies have led him to discard a few that Hobson suggested as possibly English, and to add several about whose English use Hobson was uncertain, notably Johannes Coene's signed animal panel. Except for the limitation implied in Oldham's statement that he has worked only in British libraries, there is every reason to believe that this will long stand as the definitive work on the subject. It is no small achievement that Oldham knows nearly 490 bindings from the shop of John Reynes (a Dutchman who obtained letters of denization in 1510), and over 300 from the bindery of Nicholas Spierinck (a native probably of Antwerp who worked in Cambridge). In respect to location of examples, Oldham supplements but does not supersede Hobson: e.g., books decorated with the Flemish animal panel signed N.C., and instances of the continental use of panels later imported into England.

Since panels are generally pictorial, Oldham has been able to classify almost all the single panels by type of subject; the composite panels are classified by format. By this means he has assigned a class-mark to each of the 262 panels which he registers as in English use. All but seven of these are reproduced, in exact size, mostly from excellent rubbings made by the author; the seven omitted have suffered too much to be reproducible. The annotations, which are provided for every panel, vary in length and content but in general each discusses how, when, and by whom the panel was used, and how many specimens survive, with locations if rare. Occasional comments on artistic merits, political or religious implications, variant states, position of clasps, and the mysterious nailmarks, are added when appropriate.

The annotations, and the reproductions, are arranged in the following classes: Acorns (including two Artichokes, a vegetable recently introduced into England), 11; Animals (including Angels), 27; Biblical Scenes, 19; Heraldic, 39; Heads-in-Medallions, 35; Religious (other than strictly Biblical), 13; Tudor Roses (the only thoroughly English subjects), 24; Saints (only the seven St. George panels have a special attraction for Englishmen), 50; Vertical Strips, 6; Triple Panels, 14; Quadruple Panels, 7; and Miscellaneous, 17.

These panels were customarily used in pairs, impressed in the leather of both covers at the same time, by almost any sort of press used by a binder for other operations. Sometimes the pairs were almost identical; sometimes they were inappropriately matched, as with AN.19 and ST.5, used as a pair in all twelve examples of their appearance known to Oldham, yet one is designed to be looked at from the side, the other from the bottom. One animal panel with the

apparently meaningless legend "Ke ceste liver lera" was used in England with a flagellation panel; in the Flemish city of its origin, it was paired with another animal panel whose legend reads "Paradis gaignera Am[en]," which completes the sense.

One cannot refrain from the comment that panel stamps reduced the decorative problems of the binder to a minimum. Moreover, the foreign stationer in England made generous use of second-hand panels, showing little concern about the continued presence of initials or names of previous owners. His esthetic conscience too often permitted him to look the other way when nailheads protruded or a panel had to be cut down to make a more usable shape. The die-cutters who executed the panels were little better; their designs were generally commonplace, and they imitated each other lazily. One is all too grateful for an occasional display of artistic vigor and sensibility, even though its inspiration may be a printed Book of Hours, like the Ara Coeli stamp which was copied from a cut used by Pigouchet, or the Reynes panel of Arma Redemptoris Mundi derived from a Kerver illustration.

As a reference tool, Oldham's book is easy to consult, and it has the additional virtue of being interesting to read, an attribute that all too rarely enhances a text on an esoteric subject. Mr. Brooke Crutchley, the author's former pupil, has produced this handsome volume with the taste and skill it deserves.

Frederick B. Adams, Jr.

The Pierpont Morgan Library

Lawrence Clark Powell. *A Passion for Books.* Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Company, 1958. 249 pages. $4.50.

Larry Powell is already a friend to members of the Bibliographical Society of America. He has made them his friends at the meetings of the Society at which he has presided, just as he has made friends of audiences all over the United States and England. Many of the papers which make up *A Passion for Books* were delivered as talks, and almost all have been published before in various periodicals during the last decade. They carry with them in print the vitality of direct communication and convey the warmth, the geniality, the enthusiasm of the Librarian of the University of California at Los Angeles and Director of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. They give the private and the public man, for in Larry Powell's case the two are not to be separated. To all his activities he brings the same enthusiasm—the same love of life, of people, and of books.

The collection is well named *A Passion for Books*. With the private and public Larry Powell, books, whether as physical objects or as means of communication, are part of his every experience. He meets people through books; he visits places because of books. And he approaches books and people and places with an infectious enjoyment and friendliness that make themselves immediately felt from the printed page.

Some of these essays are concerned with the enthusiasms of the private man. There is the evocative account of his trip to Scandinavia, France, and England in "Bookman in Seven-League Boots." In "All That is Poetic in Life" and "Through the Burning Glass" he shares the pleasure that certain books have given his imagination. In "The Magnetic Field" and "Three Loves Have I" he carries the reader along on the search for and the keeping and giving away of books. His admiration of a life dedicated to books is manifest in the character study of a fellow librarian, Sydney Bancroft Mitchell of California.

Though the private man is indivisible from Lawrence Clark Powell of the libraries at UCLA, it is the public man who speaks his mind to librarians in many of the essays. Always he is on the side of books and of the librarian who loves and reads them, who delights in serving people who love them, and who has the ability to study and to learn from them. He gives short shrift to the bureaucratization and mechanization that has been the aim of some American library schools. He states his creed in the opening essay, "My Favorite Four-Letter Word," and he carries the battle to the enemy in "Learning to Teach, Teaching to Learn" and "Books Will Be Read." He has excellent advice to give on regional problems in "Librarianship Is a Calling" and on librarian-dealer relations in "In It Together." His account of the transformation of William Andrews Clark's private library into a growing public institution is a guide for book-collectors and librarians. It is characteristic of the man that he can make good stories out of his own misadventures, as in "Stop Thief," which recounts the theft of the Rosenbach copy of the Bay Psalm Book, and "My Biggest Flop," which describes his failure to place a Gutenberg Bible on the West Coast.

A Passion for Books, as the title makes clear, is highly personal. It is a volume that can give the reader pleasure and guidance and above all companionship. For it is what a good collection of essays should be—a man's personality between the covers of a book.

John D. Gordan

The New York Public Library

JANE QUINBY, *comp. Catalogue of Botanical Books in the Collection of Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt. Volume* 1, *Printed Books 1477-1700, with several Manuscripts of the 12th, 15th, 16th & 17th Centuries.* Pittsburgh: The Hunt Botanical Library, 1958. lxxxiv, 517 pp. 25 plates.

A catalogue of a library in a particular field differs from a bibliography on the same subject in one respect, besides the obvious one that a description of an individual collection is not an exhaustive survey of all the existing material on the topic: a catalogue of a private library can not fail to reflect the individual who has collected and cherished the books. There is no such thing as an impersonal catalogue of a personal collection. The books, too, are individuals, like their owners. In some instances they have unique bibliographic points, not found in other recorded copies. In many cases they are gifts from the author, or from one owner to another, with suitable inscriptions. If they have passed through the hands of generations of collectors they may be annotated and have bookplates; they may even wear the livery of such bibliophiles as Grolier, De Thou, or Christie-Miller. A bibliography, on the other hand, is an aggregation of "perfect" books, each a composite of a number of copies.

The first volume of the Hunt Botanical Catalogue gives a description of a very personal collection; most of the books have individual traits such as those mentioned. It is easy to see that the collector loves the books in her library, and the herbalists, botanists, and gardeners who wrote them. She even has an extensive series of engraved portraits of them. The frontispiece of Volume 1 is an informal photograph of Mrs. Hunt, standing at the gate of her garden. She seems to be inviting the reader to see her flowers, as well as to look into this work about plants and gardens. In a short preface she tells some of her experiences in collecting, and gives her reason for publishing the catalogue of her books and prints: "I wanted to share my pleasure in them with other students and collectors." To do this adequately she felt it was necessary to have an introduction for Volume 1, giving the background of the early literature of botany. Five authorities on important aspects of this period have written interesting essays. These are: "Botany from 840 to 1700 A.D.," by Harold W. Rickett; "Medical Aspects of Early Botanical Books," by John W. Fulton; "The Dawn-time of Modern Husbandry," by Paul B. Sears; "The Illustration of Early Botanical Works," by Wilfrid Blunt; and "Printing in the 15th and 16th Centuries as represented in the Hunt Collection, with a Note on the 17th Century," by Margaret B. Stillwell. These articles add greatly to the value of the catalogue as a work of reference.

The first entry in Volume 1 is a manuscript fragment of the twelfth century, giving part of the poem on the properties of herbs by Odo de Meung, better

known by his pseudonym, Æmilius Macer. The last work described is a printed book of 1700. There are over four hundred items in eight languages; they include herbals, books on gardening and specific gardens, works on agriculture in general and the growing of individual plants, compendious treatises on the management of country estates, *florilegia*, and so on. The actual span of botanical authorship is over 2000 years, since the texts in the books go back to Hippocrates and other authors long before the invention of printing. That there are so many rare books is a remarkable achievement in collecting. Anyone who has searched for copies of early botanical works knows well how seldom they can be found, especially in good condition. The collector, when he sees any in a catalogue, hurries to telephone or cable. If he is in time, he thanks God, fasting.

The first ten items in the catalogue are before 1500. The earliest printed book, 1477, is the first edition of Macer's *De viribus herbarum carmen*, the poem referred to above. Among the ten is the first edition of the *Gart der Gesundheit*, Mainz, 1485, "a landmark in the history of botanical illustration." In the sixteenth century there are *The grete Herball*, London, 1526, the first illustrated English herbal, and *Le grant herbier en francoys*, Paris, *c.* 1535, the only copy of the edition in this country. There are also *The proffitable arte of gardening*, 1568, by Thomas Hill, the first enlarged edition of the first book on gardening printed in England, and *The castell of health*, by Sir Thomas Elyot, 1587, of which only three other copies are known. In the seventeenth century are listed two copies of Jean de Bry's *Florilegium novum*, 1612, one an apparent trial issue dated 1611, of which there are two other recorded copies. One could go on listing rarities, which are here in profusion. The astonishing fact is that there are so few works missing, and that almost no writers in the broad field of botany are unrepresented.

Each book is meticulously described. The titles are lined and careful collations are given; peculiarities in printing are noted and comparisons with other known copies are occasionally made. Biographical information is provided and there are often quotations from reference works. A full bibliography and a detailed index, including some subject headings pertinent to botanical literature, enhance the reference value of the catalogue. Miss Quinby has indeed worked successfully to do justice to a fine collection.

Aside from its value as a tool for collectors and bibliographers, this catalogue has great appeal for lovers of beautiful books. It is printed on fine paper, with special water-marks, and with the greatest attention to typographical excellence. The collotype illustrations are exceptionally well-done. These latter achievements we have learned to expect from the Anthoensen Press and the Meriden

Gravure Company. The binding is not only attractive but also sturdy enough to withstand use.

Volume II is to cover the books in the eighteenth century and Volume III those in the nineteenth. Most of the great illustrated and colored flower books in this period are in the collection and will be described. We may be sure that these volumes, too, will fittingly represent the personality of the collector, a great bibliophile and a great lady.

SARAH A. DICKSON

The New York Public Library

WERNER DOEDE. *Bibliographie deutscher Schreibmeisterbücher von Neudörffer bis 1800.* Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1958. 124 pp. (text), 32 pp. (plates), [8] pp. (index). 11¾ x 8¾ inches.

One of the encouraging signs in an age of mechanized book production is the intensified study of calligraphy in recent years. Actually the history of European (and non-European) calligraphy is still *in statu nascendi*, but comprehensive bibliographical studies such as Werner Doede's work are the necessary bases for definitive general works.

Doede restricts himself to printed books, of which he records and describes in detail over 250 titles in the period of nearly three centuries covered by his work. Each entry is accompanied by locations, with careful notes on the peculiarities of individual copies, a list of the various hands illustrated, references to critical literature, and analysis of contents when pertinent. An appendix of thirty-two pages of plates provides a fairly adequate notion of the more important stylistic trends during the period covered. There is an index of names and a list of libraries for which locations are cited. In all, Doede used forty-one collections of libraries, museums, and dealers.

The first title recorded by Doede, the four unnumbered xylographic leaves by Johann Neudörffer the Elder dated 1519, appeared almost two decades earlier than his famous *Anweysung einer gemeinen Hanndschrift* (1538). The only other title recorded in the interim is Fabian Franngk's *Schreibe Kunst* (1525), a modest work of eleven leaves in letterpress with interspersed wood engravings. In the meanwhile Ludovico Vicentino (1522) and Tagliente (1524) had brought out their celebrated copybooks. The earliest French, Spanish, Dutch, and English printed copybooks came three decades to a half century later. Probably because of the fact that the German, unlike the southern European, has always had to learn the Latin "round hand," the printed German copybooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came out in rela-

tive profusion. Peter Jessen estimated in his *Meister der Schreibkunst aus drei Jahrhunderten* that some 800 copybooks appeared in print between 1500 and 1800, and it is not surprising that approximately a third carry German imprints.

Bibliographies such as Doede's and Ambrose Heal's *The English Writing-Masters and Their Copy-Books, 1570-1800* cannot be substitutes for exhaustive histories, but they are eligible points of departure. In his rather extensive introduction Doede traces in broad outline the styles, traditions, and schools of the German writing masters, and he documents his story fully, revealing intimate knowledge of general European trends and of the critical literature. His bibliography of the latter is a suggestive list for anyone who is building a reference collection in this field. Doede's work is a significant and enduring contribution to a field that is rapidly and justifiably attracting more attention from American collectors and librarians.

Lawrence S. Thompson

University of Kentucky Library

Joseph Mileck. *Hermann Hesse and his Critics. The Criticism and Bibliography of Half a Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. ix, 329 pp. 9 x 6 inches. $8.00 cloth; $7.00 paper.

This is an amazingly comprehensive, practical handbook and a most valuable guide to the vast literature by and about one of the greatest of modern writers, the Swiss Nobel Prize winner Hermann Hesse.

Part I contains background information: a bio-bibliographical study of the author, a characterization of Hesse's art in both prose and poetry, and a presentation of his views of today's world.

Part II consists of an analysis of Hesse studies in the past fifty-five years. Books, pamphlets, and articles are systematically discussed under a number of headings such as "Surveys," "Congratulatory Articles," "Hesse and his Age," followed by discussions of his attitude towards youth, nature, music, psychology, and religion. One whole chapter is devoted to his major novel, *Das Glasperlenspiel.* The final section deals with general interest in the author, in which Professor Mileck interprets the changing attitudes towards Hesse and the changing emphasis in scholarship. It becomes apparent that the world-wide interest in Hesse is of comparatively recent date, since more has been written about him in the last decade than in all the preceding years.

Part III begins with a survey of manuscript resources for the study of Hesse and a description of the various collections of his works, all of which are lo-

cated in Germany and Switzerland. This is followed by an analysis of the previous bibliographies and the most complete listing of Hesse's works and criticism about him yet published; no more than thirty per cent of the items mentioned in this book have been listed in the nine bibliographical studies discussed in the preceding chapter. In compiling this bibliography, the author has thought primarily of the researcher and critic, not the bibliophile, and in his own words "only those details pertinent to scholarly research were incorporated" (p. 217). Consequently, no collations and no bibliographical descriptions of any sort are given beyond title, place, and date of publication. Only materials published by June, 1957, have been listed. Three expertly compiled indexes of Hesse's works, of subjects, and of names make this book a pleasure to use.

On the 339 pages of this volume I have found no more than a few inconsistencies and errors. Werner Vordtriede (p. 282) appears as Vortriede, while Artur Lundkvist (p. 256) is called Arthur Lundquist, and Hedda Eulenberg (p. 254) Heda. The date of publication of Werner Dürr's recent monograph (p. 305) should be 1957, not 1927. These, however, are trifling matters.

Omissions in such a work by a noted authority are naturally few. In the belief, however, that some of the omitted items may be of interest to the student of Hesse, I cite here a few of those known to me: Werner Söderhjelm, "Rosshalde," *Utklipp om böcker* (Helsingfors, 1916), pp. 336-339.—Carl August Bolander, *Ismer och dikt* (Stockholm, 1928), pp. 153-159.—Carl Gad, *Omkring kulturkrisen* (Copenhagen, 1929), pp. 120-137.—Anders Österling, "Stäppvargen," *Dagens gärning* (Stockholm, 1931), pp. 199-208.—Erik Blomberg, "Människovargen," *Stadens fånger* (Stockholm, 1933), pp. 75-79.—Erik Ekelund, "Dödskult och framtidstro," *Synvinklar* (Lund, 1956), pp. 177-212.—There were also several articles on Hesse in *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm): Johannes Edfeldt, "Stäppvargen," I (1932), 77.—Johannes Edfeldt, "Själens spegel," X (1941), 315-316.—Johannes Edfeldt, "Hermann Hesses nya roman" [*Das Glasperlenspiel*], XIII (1944), 407-410.—Margit Abenius, "Det heliga 'Om,' " XV (1946), 882-883.—Zenta Maurina, "Stäppvargen," XVI (1947), 343-345.—Åke Janson, "Lång resa til Kastalien," XXII (1953), 135-136. Finally, a great many references to Hesse are to be found in the various newspaper indexes, particularly in Scandinavia.

Well-organized and lucidly presented, this long-awaited study of the criticism and bibliography of Hermann Hesse is sure of a welcome by literary historians. It is essential for research libraries and every serious student of contemporary German literature.

KLAUS W. JONAS

University of Pittsburgh

THE AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

Howard F. Cline, Director of the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress, was recently named Chairman of the Committee on Historical Bibliography of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. He is a member of the Advisory Committee for PBSA.

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Robert Frederick Lane received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Oregon and his doctorate from the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago. He has taught printing in Oregon, Washington, California, and Pennsylvania, and was Librarian of the University of Omaha from 1938 until 1942. He served with the U. S. Navy during World War II. He worked in Italy on a Fulbright grant in 1956-1957 on the biography and bibliography of Bodoni, and has been a practicing printer since the age of fourteen.

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